THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Quarterly

33

VOLUME XXXIII JANUARY-OCTOBER 1949

Annual Report

FOR THE YEAR 1949

NEW YORK: 170 CENTRAL PARK WEST

1950

THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

VOLUME XXXIII *January 1949* NUMBER 1

Published by the Society and Issued to Members

CENTRAL PARK WEST AND 77TH STREET
NEW YORK 24, N. Y.

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

GEORGE A. ZABRISKIE, *Honorary President*
FENWICK BEEKMAN, M.D., *President*

LeRoy E. Kimball . . . . . *First Vice-President*
Louis C. Wills . . . . . *Second Vice-President*
Forsyth Wickes . . . . . *Third Vice-President*
Stuyvesant Fish . . . . . *Fourth Vice-President*
Archer M. Huntington . . . . . *Foreign Corresponding Secretary*
William T. Van Alstyne . . . . . *Domestic Corresponding Secretary*
DeWitt M. Lockman . . . . . *Recording Secretary*
Thomas W. Streeter . . . . . *Treasurer*

Term Ending 1950	*Term Ending 1951*	*Term Ending 1952*
Arthur A. Jones	George A. Zabriskie	John V. Irwin
Stephen H. P. Pell	Charles E. Dunlap	Lucius Wilmerding
Irving S. Olds	Lewis Gouverneur Morris	Arthur H. Merritt, D.D.S.
	Term Ending 1953	
Frederick B. Adams, Jr.	Kiliaen Van Rensselaer	Henry O. Havemeyer

STANDING COMMITTEES

On Building	*On Fine Arts*	*On Lectures*
Henry O. Havemeyer	Forsyth Wickes	Leonidas Westervelt
Irving S. Olds	DeWitt M. Lockman, N.A.	Stephen H. P. Pell
Charles E. Dunlap	Henry O. Havemeyer	John V. Irwin
On Library	*On Membership*	*On Nominations*
LeRoy E. Kimball	John V. Irwin	Henry O. Havemeyer
Stuyvesant Fish	Arthur A. Jones	Charles E. Dunlap
Thomas W. Streeter	William T. Van Alstyne	Irving S. Olds
On Finance	*On Museum*	*On Plan & Scope*
Thomas W. Streeter	Arthur H. Merritt, D.D.S.	Irving S. Olds
Lucius Wilmerding	Archer M. Huntington	Stuyvesant Fish
LeRoy E. Kimball	Stephen H. P. Pell	LeRoy E. Kimball
William T. Van Alstyne	Kiliaen Van Rensselaer	Forsyth Wickes
Forsyth Wickes		Arthur H. Merritt, D.D.S.

On Publications	*Ex-Officio, All Committees*
LeRoy E. Kimball	Dr. Beekman (President)
Thomas W. Streeter	Mr. Streeter (Treasurer)
Arthur H. Merritt, D.D.S.	Mr. Vail (Secretary to the Board)

DIRECTOR . . . . . R. W. G. VAIL

Assistant Director . . . . . Alexander J. Wall, Jr.

DEPARTMENT HEADS

Librarian . . . . . Dorothy C. Barck
Curator of the Museum . . . . . Richard J. Koke
Editor . . . . . Charles E. Baker
Supervisor of Education and Public Relations . . . . . Alexander J. Wall, Jr.
Superintendent of Buildings . . . . . Garrett H. Winter

THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY

QUARTERLY

VOLUME XXXIII JANUARY 1949 NUMBER 1

CHARLES E. BAKER, *Editor*

CONTENTS

Charles Walker on New York . . . 1832 and 1834 . KENNETH SCOTT 5

A Revolutionary Spy Reports to His General . . . R.W.G. VAIL 21

A Fifth Account of the First Voyage of Fulton's "Clermont" HENRY WINFRED SPLITTER 25

John Brown: Saint or Sinner? . . . . . GEORGE A. ZABRISKIE 31

Development of the Salt Industry in New York . E. B. TUSTIN, JR. 39

Book Reviews and Notices:

Drake (Horine, ed.), *Pioneer Life in Kentucky 1785–1800* FENWICK BEEKMAN, M.D. 51

Ditzion, *Arsenals of a Democratic Culture* . . H. M. LYDENBERG 53

Rodgers and Rankin, *New York: The World's Capital City* VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS 55

Activities of the Society 56

Recent Accessions 58

Conditions of Membership 63

Application for Membership 63

Form of Bequest 63

THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY IS NOT RESPONSIBLE FOR STATEMENTS IN SIGNED ARTICLES

M 13397
(D) 67
10Fp

THOMAS ADDIS EMMET (1764–1827)

By Samuel F. B. Morse (Walker's brother-in-law)
(This portrait was owned by C[harles] Walker at the time of its exhibition at the National Academy of Design in 1828.)

Deposited at the Society by The New York Law Institute, 1946

THE NEW-YORK
HISTORICAL SOCIETY
QUARTERLY
January 1949
VOLUME XXXIII NUMBER ONE
New York: 170 Central Park West

CHARLES WALKER ON NEW YORK: TWO LETTERS OF 1832 AND 1834

by KENNETH SCOTT

THOMAS ADDIS EMMET, Irish émigré attorney in New York, opened his office during the early 1820's to a youthful student of the law from Concord, New Hampshire.*

Charles Walker, seemingly both an amiable and intelligent young man, had been born on March 31, 1798. He was the son of Charles and Hannah Pickering Walker and the grandson of the Honorable Timothy Walker, a leading citizen of Concord. Charles was educated at Phillips Exeter Academy, completing his studies there in 1815, and at Harvard, where he was graduated in 1818. For two years he was tutor and librarian at Transylvania University in Lexington, Kentucky, but he then removed to

* He had come to America in 1804 on the advice of Thaddeus Kosciuszko and armed with a letter of introduction from the Pole to General Horatio Gates, dated "Paris 29 July 1804," and another to Governor George Clinton, who persuaded him to remain in the City.

New York City to study law with Emmet, win admittance to the bar, and set up an office of his own. He first appears in the city directory for 1824–5 *at "*6 *Old-slip"; twelve months later his business address is given as "*1 *Nassau," and by the following*

WALL STREET FROM BROADWAY, WINTER 1834
Lithograph by Peter Maverick after Hugh Reinagle
The New-York Historical Society

*year he seems to have settled in the rooms at "*8 *Burling-slip" which were to remain his headquarters for the next decade.*

Dr. Emmet had a large and exceedingly lively family. Tradition has it that Charles Walker fell hopelessly in love with one of the daughters—probably Jane Erin, called "Jeannette," born at Fort George in Scotland while her father was a prisoner there, or the handsome American-born Mary Anne. Both sisters succumbed to the importunities of other suitors during the period of young Walker's New York residence, and a broken heart may or may not have been the reason for his never marrying. At any rate, Charles Walker was very much a part of the life about him, with all a newcomer's curiosity and a surprisingly shrewd eye for the city's religious and political rivalries, its inevitable fads, and—

even then—its passion for amusing itself. Among the Walker Papers in the New Hampshire Historical Society are three letters written by Charles from New York to Timothy and Lydia Walker, his uncle and aunt, of which two are still so entertaining

SOUTH STREET FROM MAIDEN LANE, 1828
Drawn and engraved by William J. Bennett
The New-York Historical Society

and enlightening as to merit printing in full for the edification of New Yorkers, native and by adoption, of a later generation. The first is dated "February 4, 1832":

. . . From the middle of December last to this day the North River has been closed with ice and that of no ordinary thickness, & for some weeks until lately the mails went from here on runners. This city is surrounded by water, & when all the avenues to it are blocked up, the place is dull and all public houses & places of amusement appear deserted—The roads in every direction from the city, used only in winter, neglected all summer, are miserable—To go to Albany by land, over the mountains, is attended with great danger, & so, in the thaws, to Philadelphia—At

this time, I suppose not more than ten stages run from this city to Boston, Albany, & Philadelphia in all, accommodating from 80, to 100 passengers, where as, in pleasant weather the Albany boats have brought in from 5 to 1500 persons, & Boston & Philadelphia the same—In a city of 200,000 inhabitants, it might be thought that the absence of strangers would not be perceived, but, upon reflection, we find all our trade and bustle arise from selling to the country—Yet, when alone, we keep up a good deal of excitement, and, the engrossing subject of conversation, among gentlemen & ladies, has been, the rejection of the great magician[1]—& speculations upon the effect the same may have upon his future prospects—His enemies are frantic with joy, & exclaim the wand of the magician has been broken over his own head, while some of his friends affect to rejoice at this act of persecution, which is to rouse the indignation of the people, who, to wipe away the disgrace inflicted upon the Country by the Senate, are to place Mr. Van Beuren in the presidents chair after the political life of Genl. Jackson is ended—My own opinion is, that this will elevate, or depress, Mr. Van Beuren, in the manner in which this rejection is received by the people—If it is put to them and they so receive it, as a high-handed party measure, brought about by Clay & Calhoun, the rivals of Van Beuren, with the secret intention of sealing his political ruin, then the people will sustain Mr. V. B. but if it is put to the people and they so receive it that to attain *mere party objects* in this country, Mr. V. B. in his instructions to Mr. McLane, was willing to humble the Nation to Great Brittain, and receive, as a boon, what should have been demanded as a right, then the people will permit Mr. V. B. to return silently to private life.[2] In this state Mr.

[1] President Andrew Jackson's nomination of Martin Van Buren as minister to Great Britain was defeated by the Senate on January 25, 1832.

[2] Van Buren, as Jackson's Secretary of State, had requested participation in the British West Indian trade as a privilege rather than demanding it as a right. By reversing the arbitrary stand of the John Quincy Adams administration, he had at last secured the removal of hampering restrictions on American vessels by offering concessions to British traders in United States ports. However, Van Buren's enemies declared his instructions to Louis McLane (then ambassador to Great Britain) implied that, by defeating Adams for reëlection in 1828, the American people had

V. B. has many warm political friends, & his rejection, by them, is received as an insult to his native state. However much is said against Mr. V.B. there is nothing of positive evil that you can place your finger upon, and nothing of positive good. He is a man of talent, genius & learning, of pure morals, yet he has never so indentified himself with any great political act or policy as warmly to attach to him its advocates, & irritate its oponents—hence they call him the great magician, and now the great rejected—The Jackson party here is strong, but somewhat divided and excited upon the subject of the re-charter of the Bank of the United States—Noah[3] & many here appear for it, & the Regency [the Van Buren clique] at Albany, altho' all friends of Jackson are opposed—The friends of Gen.[l] Jackson will have to see it rechartered, & the old man will not veto it[4]—It was ill-advised to rouse the Bank interest against the party—In our state we have a safety fund for the Bill holders, arising from a tax on Banks, deposited in the state treasury to redeem the Bills, should a Bank become insolvent, and we have three commissioners, four times a year, to inspect the situation of all banks, and, oftener, if notified, with power to suspend the operations of any bank, take possession of its property, redeem its Bills, &, if a deficiency, out of the Bank fund,—if a surplus, that among the stockholders.—The fund created by the tax, the state pays five percent interest

directly repudiated the former president's attitude. Clay and Calhoun, on this basis, were able to block the Senate's approval of Van Buren to succeed McLane as ambassador—a setback peculiarly humiliating to the New Yorker because he had left for London soon after his August appointment. In the light of later events, Charles Walker's analysis seems very acute indeed: popular reaction made Van Buren vice-president and from there he went on to the presidency.

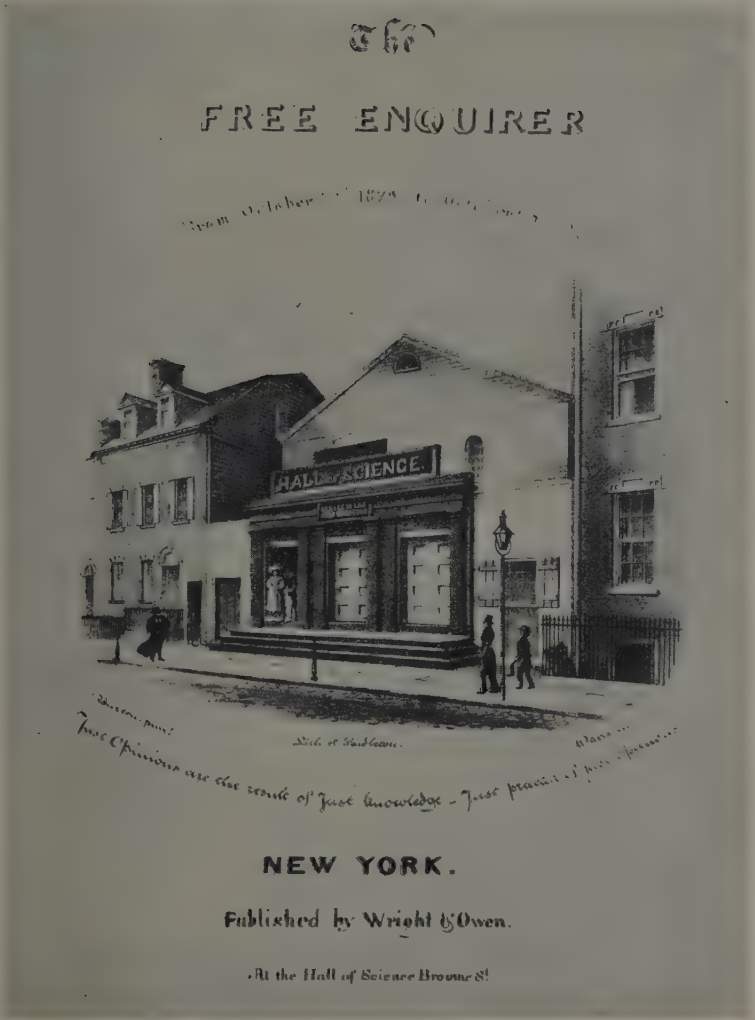
[3] Mordecai Manuel Noah (1785–1851), lawyer, playwright, and journalist. In 1826 he established the *New York Enquirer,* which merged with the *Morning Courier* in 1829 under the name *Morning Courier and New York Enquirer,* supporting the first Jackson administration. In 1829, also, Noah was appointed surveyor of the Port of New York by Jackson, but resigned in 1833 and the following year founded his *Evening Star* in support of the Whigs.

[4] Here Walker was wrong. The Bank's charter did not expire until 1836, but was brought up earlier by Clay to embarrass Jackson, its stubborn opponent. A bill re-chartering the Bank passed the Senate on June 11, 1832, and the House on July 3rd; Jackson not only had the courage to veto it, but within a few months ordered all public funds removed from the Bank and all government-held stock disposed of.

for, and it is for the security of Bill holders, & if this fund is not used, it is to be restored, to the Banks, at the expiration of the charters—As yet, none has been used, but the interferance of the commissioners has once or twice prevented the failure of a bank, which until lately was no uncommon thing here—Indeed, in this state & city, nothing can be named that does not h—[5] In the city, I am so engaged in my own business, that many matters of consequence are transacted, that I never hear of. You, Aunt Lydia, first told me that the four days meetings [revivals] originated in New York, and I know that they have lately been held here to a great extent—one lately at D[r]. Springs, whose church is very large[6]—But there are so many meetings of every kind, political, religious, & heretical, held here continually, that I cannot & do not pretend to take note of them—Near D[r]. Springs, is a sect the very reverse of his—They are a set of free thinkers, who assemble, like the churches, thrice a sunday, & a discourse, is delivered, upon moral or natural philosophy, or some of the sciences, but most generally a phillipic against Priesthood—setting up a man of straw, a creature of their own imagination, & beating it down—It is never difficult to prove what no one is permitted to deny, & one can always make his enemy a hideous monster, if he is permitted to draw his character—This is a congregation of the friends of Tom Paine & Fanny Wright, among whom are but few, very few, of wealth, learning or much character in society. While permitted undisturbed to sing songs & rave against our religion, they are perfectly harmless & cannot increase. If in error,—the only lawful, christian weapon permitted man to use against such persons, is argument—While Fanny Wright was denounced in the pulpit, and many good persons thought her doctrines should be suppressed by public authority, & she, like Socrates put to death for debasing the morals of youth,

[5] A small piece of the letter is torn away at this point, so that apparently only part of one word is missing.

[6] This was the Brick Presbyterian Church, then on Beekman Street, of which Dr. Gardiner Spring (1785–1873) was pastor from 1810 until his death sixty-three years later.



"HALL OF SCIENCE," 359 BROOME STREET, 1829–1831

Drawn on stone by [Alexander Jackson] Davis for [John B.] Pendleton, lithographer, after the drawing by [Charles] Burton.

Title page, *The Free Enquirer*, Vol. II, Oct. 31, 1829–Oct. 23, 1830

she attracted thousands to hear her lectures and her Hall of Science could not contain the many who came up there to worship —The spirit of opposition ceased—&, with it, ceased the mad-doctrines of Fanny Wright, and the Hall of Science is now a Christian temple[7]—From The Observer,[8] which, I suppose, you regularly receive you can derive all the information upon religious subjects that any here can impart—The fashion and wealth of the city is found in the Episcopal Church—Yet that church has a schism in it—There is the high church & low church—The former are a large majority & refuse to join the other sects in the Bible, Tract, & missionary societies, acting exclusively by themselves and charged, by the low church, as not possessed of too much piety—The low church join the orthodox clergy, so called, in the Bible & other societies, and in abusing the unitarians, and call themselves the evangelical Episcopalians, have night meet-

[7] Frances Wright (1795–1852), Scottish-born reformer and free-thinker, shocked Americans by appearing in public as a lecturer and attacking organized religion and its influence in politics, advocating the gradual emancipation of the slaves, and demanding equal rights for women, liberal divorce laws, industrial education, and the redistribution of wealth. Newspapers were immoderate in denouncing her, and on several occasions she was nearly mobbed. In 1829 she settled in New York as the head of a group called the "Free Enquirers," with which Robert Dale Owen of New-Harmony fame was also associated, and at first rented the Park Theatre for presenting a course of lectures. Later in the year she and Owen established a "Hall of Science" at 359 Broome Street where they held lectures and published a weekly paper, *The Free Enquirer*. The group founded an "Association for the Protection of Industry and for the Promotion of National Education" which in 1829–30 was successful in taking over the New York Working Men's Party, but the workers themselves soon regained control. Owen and Miss Wright went abroad, and *The Free Enquirer* announced on November 5, 1831, that the "Hall of Science" had been sold to a Methodist congregation. New quarters were promised for May but never materialized. *The Free Enquirer* had begun publication on Oct. 29, 1828, at New-Harmony, Ind., "in continuation of *The New-Harmony Gazette*," but beginning with No. 19 (March 4, 1829) of Vol. I, was published at New York. After going to Europe, Wright and Owen continued to exercise editorial supervision by mail until, by a letter dated Paris, August 17, 1832, and published in the *Enquirer* on October 13th, they announced complete withdrawal from the paper's editorship. Owen then returned to New Harmony and Miss Wright—by now Mme. D'Arusmont—remained in Europe until 1835. The last issue of the *Enquirer* to carry on its masthead "Francis Wright & Robert Dale Owen, Editors & Proprietors" was that of Oct. 20, 1832. The New-York Historical Society has a full set of *The Free Enquirer*, which continued under the editorship of H. D. Robinson.

[8] The *New York Observer*, a religious paper founded in 1823 by Richard Cary Morse and Sidney Edwards Morse, brothers of the artist and inventor Samuel Finley Breese Morse.

ings, &c. There is no open rupture, at present here, or in England —At the head of the low church party in America, is D[r]. Milner[9] of this City—We have a division among the Jews here of pretty nearly the same nature—and some of our presbyterian societies are a little divided upon the policy of four day meetings and think their utility questionable—this sect takes in a substantial part of the community, the Connecticut, Massachusetts (except Boston,) & New Jersey men—The Catholic church takes the foreigners, excepting the English, & the rest are divided among the various denominations. Sunday is very well kept in the City & the places of worship generally well filled—In this city, more like Paris, than London, so many Europeans have we, that we can entertain strangers of any sect, or disposition—If he be for churches, he can find them open at all hours—if for amusements, we have four theatres,[10] as many museums,[11] & numberless shows, & mountebanks, that will consume the day and a great part of the night, and if he goes, in addition, to a fashionable party, he would find no company assembled before nine, and none retireing before one & two in the morning—until which time, in some rooms, he may dance, in others converse, and even amuse himself with a political dissertation in a corner.—When such a party

[9] James Milnor (1773–1845) was rector of St. George's, second Episcopal congregation in New York City, from 1816 until his death.

[10] The famous Mrs. Trollope, who spent seven weeks in New York before returning to England in 1831, writes: "There are three theatres at New-York, all of which we visited. The Park Theatre is the only one licensed by fashion, but the Bowery is infinitely superior in beauty . . . but it is not the fashion. The Chatham is so utterly condemned by *bon ton*, that it requires some courage to decide upon going there. . . ." *Domestic Manners of the Americans* (London: 1832), pp. 270–71. Walker's fourth theater would have been the Richmond Hill, at Varick and Charlton Streets, which opened on November 14, 1831, with a performance of "The Road to Ruin." *N. Y. Evening Post*, November 11 and 15, 1831, as cited in Stokes' *Iconography*.

[11] The chief museums in 1832 were the American Academy of the Fine Arts on Barclay Street; the American Museum, also known as "Scudder's," which was then at Broadway and Ann Street and later was to be taken over by P. T. Barnum, and the Lyceum of Natural History at Center and White Streets. The National Academy of Design had been holding its annual exhibitions in various locations since 1826, and The New-York Historical Society was to move shortly (on April 19th) from the old New York Institution at the north end of City Hall Park to its new quarters on the third floor of the Remsen Building on the corner of Broadway and Chambers Street.

PARK THEATRE, 1822

Of the four theaters available to Walker in 1832, "... the only one licensed by fashion"

Drawn by John Searle

Gift of the heirs of Mrs. Harriet Bayard Van Rensselaer

is given here, it is to be a squeeze and jam, and the beds of the second story are removed, and the carpets of the parlours for dancing removed, and one party a winter will repay the many to which the family has been invited—This place is wonderfully addicted to dancing, extending itself from the highest to the lowest, even to the chimney sweep in the street who is seen cutting some great step, some pigeon's wing—Social dancing, by the Dutch Reformed & Episcopalians, was never thought any otherwise than an innocent amusement, & such an effect has their practice & opinion had, that all so consider it in this city, except a few sour-strict Connecticut presbyterians among us—I do wish you would visit New York—there is nothing to prevent—you live among honest people, can lock your house, & let the rats

visit your neighbours, & you visit New York—Situated as you are, there is nothing to prevent, & altho' it might take a little of your means, there would be enough left, & you would live, I will guarantee, ten years longer, and, on your return, be ten years younger—I am aware people get settled down and want energy & courage to move, they merely vegetate—I know when father is from home, he is roused up, and has to rouse himself, & be active & young. He should come here too and particularly Capt. Joseph.[12]—Persons by moping at home, as the gunners say, must out—& become narrow in their views and think themselves old—The way, the true way, is, for those who can, to travel about & see men & cities & manners, & improve themselves by coming in contact with others & see for themselves how different the same business is conducted in different places. After this lecture, do you next summer set out, and, instead of going to old Woburn,[13] go to Niagara, Canada & return by this place & Boston and charge the expences to your heirs, who will never thank you the less for it—I have written so often to Aunt Livermore[14] on this subject, & to father, & offered to accompany them, that I almost despair of seeing them in New York—

Well now what do you think? Have I not written a long letter? M^r. Morse is in Paris & crosses to London in the spring, & in the summer returns to N. York—He has sent home some fine pictures painted by him—Charles is at Mount Pleasant [in upper Westchester County], up the river, & little Findley does not enjoy very good health—He is with his aunt, Richard's wife, who is a

[12] Captain Joseph Walker (1782–1833), Charles Walker's uncle, farmed his ancestral acres in Concord, was a member of several financial corporations, and managed a considerable land holding in Maine. In 1809 he was appointed captain of a company of cavalry attached to the Eleventh Regiment of New Hampshire Militia.

[13] In Massachusetts. The Walker family had originally come from Woburn, Massachusetts, to Concord, New Hampshire.

[14] Sarah Walker Livermore (1764–1843) was Charles' aunt. Daughter of Judge Timothy and Susannah Burbeen Walker of Woburn, she married Major Daniel Livermore of Concord. After his death in 1798 she resided part of the time in Concord and part in or about Boston. She is said to have been a strong-minded person, generous and somewhat eccentric.

pretty & good Dutch lady, with two little children of her own[15]— As for myself, I yet live, & perhaps shall long live in single blessedness, but I am in an admirable boarding house, full of ladies & gentlemen & have rooms pleasant & convenient, which I would cheerfully surrender to my friends, if they would visit me. You will, of course, give my love to the whole circle of my good relatives, my attachment to whom I wish I could evince by visiting them oftener & more at leisure

Accept my best wishes for your happiness, &

Believe your affectionate nephew

CHARLES WALKER.

The next letter from New York is dated September 12, 1834, *and reads as follows*:

Dear Uncle & Aunt.

This is not to be the long letter I promised you—that is to come —Horatio Hill[16] is here, & I concluded not to send your receipt in a blank envellope, but in a letter. Leaving Concord on friday, monday morning, at six, I was at home. It was rainy & the City had a gloom hanging over it, heightened no doubt by my reflections on cholera, for ever since that time, some twenty to thirty die every day of that disease.[17] Yet we all live away as usual, & little heed is paid to it, but by those at a distance & strangers. Amuse-

[15] Samuel Finley Breese Morse (1791–1872) had married Charles Walker's sister, Lucretia Pickering Walker. They had three surviving children: Susan Walker, Charles Walker, and Samuel Finley Breese, Jr. (called "Fin"). Lucretia died in February, 1825, soon after Fin's birth, and the children were cared for by relatives. Fin never fully recovered from an attack of scarlet fever; the aunt with whom he was living was of course Mrs. Richard Cary Morse, born Sarah Louisa Davis. Probably Charles Walker was having his little joke when he called her "a pretty & good Dutch lady."

[16] Horatio Hill, on April 25, 1830, had married Charles Walker's first cousin, Clarissa Walker Emery. Hill was born in Ashburnham, Massachusetts, in 1807, served his apprenticeship in the office of the *New Hampshire Patriot* in Concord, and was later in the book, newspaper, and publishing business in that city. In the 1830's he settled in New York City, where his wife died in 1839. Later he moved to Chicago.

[17] New York City, where 2,996 out of 5,835 cholera cases had proved fatal during the terrifying epidemic of 1832, was visited again by the dread disease in the summer of 1834.

NIBLO'S GARDEN, BROADWAY AND PRINCE ST., 1828
Woodcut, *Valentine's Manual* 1865, page 631

ments, theatres, gardens &c. were never more full & never were so many actors & mountebanks in the City. This place is essentially different from all others in America—for our population is so much of it foreign, that we have the customs of all nations here. On sunday evening they have grand Concerts at Niblo's Garden,[18] & the opera singers & musicians are the performers & the selections from serious operas, for many are, in their plot, taken from scripture as Moses in Egypt &c. These are called Sacred Concerts—but so French & Italian are we, that we probably shall have Operas at last on sunday nights—This is the more probably as we have a large body of Catholics here, who consider the latter part of sunday, a period of amusement.—The political parties here are active; but I do not believe that there

[18] This was the restaurant, public garden, and theater established by William Niblo in 1828 on Broadway at Prince Street.

will be any great change in our public officers—although the friends of the administration are less numerous. This election will be considered a pretty fair test of M^r. Van Beurens strength in his native state. In this City there will be great excitement—Selden,[19] who was chosen Representative to Congress by the Jacksonians & then turned Whig, has resigned & is to be the Whig candidate! He resigned because he could not continue the friend of Jackson, & the Whigs are to take him, & one Hoffman[20] who has also turned, as Candidates—This will call out all the strength of both parties, & they talk of closing all shops & stores, for the three days of election—If this is done mob-law will be in force again—You know we are given to mobs in these days of religious & political intolerance. I have returned from Staten Island, Richmond County—For three days I was on the Island at Court—It is a beautiful place, like Bermuda, surrounded by the sea & all fish oysters & clams plenty & of course the people—watermen—rather fond of strong drink & profanity. For years, I never have seen so many hard drinkers. Temperance reform has not reached them—The prospects there of the ocean are beautiful, & these, the poor & rich, equally enjoy—The poor man too can any day gather oysters or clams enough to bring in $1.50, hence labor is scarce on land & it neglected—There are many clever families there, & they are very hospitable—All these places around New York grow with the City & become the pleasant residences of retired merchants and mechanics—

I am with much affection

Your nephew

CHARLES WALKER.

[19] Dudley Selden, New York City lawyer, was elected to the 23rd Congress as a Democrat. He served from December 2, 1833, to July 1, 1834, when he resigned. *A Biographical Congressional Dictionary 1774 to 1903* (Washington: 1903), p. 789.

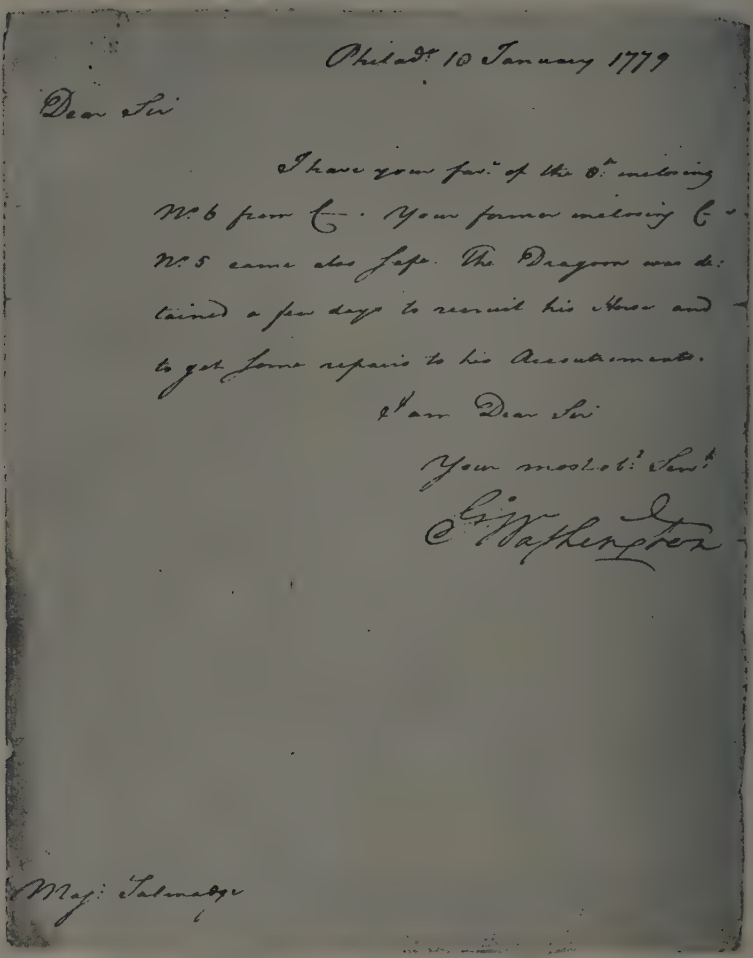
[20] Ogden Hoffman (1793–1856), New York City lawyer and Tammany politician, served as district attorney, 1829–35, but quarreled with the Jacksonians over the United States Bank issue. He was elected to the 25th and 26th Congresses (1837–41) as a Whig.

About 1835 *Charles began to suffer from tuberculosis and was compelled to avoid the cold of northern winters. Apparently he retained his New York office, for he is listed in the city directories as late as the* 1840-41 *issue, but he spent part of* 1836 *in Puerto Rico and there took a keen interest in the customs of the people. From New York on October* 1, 1837, *he wrote his aunt and uncle that he would shortly leave for Key West, Florida, where he planned to settle if it pleased him.*[21] *At the close of this brief note he makes a reference to conditions in New York. "Here," he writes, "all are well and business is reviving [after the financial crisis of that year]—specie becoming abundant, & soon the Banks will resume. Some have done it already."*

Charles Walker lived in Key West for some time as an attorney and served briefly as Federal District Attorney of the Southern Judicial District. By 1841 *he had purchased a sugar plantation called "The Concordia," a few miles from Guayama in Puerto Rico, and made this his winter residence. Early in the summer of* 1843, *however, he returned to Concord, where he died of consumption in the Eagle Coffee House at the age of forty-five.*[22]

[21] His letters concerned with Key West have been published in the *Florida Historical Quarterly* (1946), pp. 191–201.

[22] The letters of Charles Walker are published by the kind permission of Mr. Elmer Munson Hunt, Director of the New Hampshire Historical Society. The biographical material relating to Charles Walker is found in Nathaniel Bouton, *The History of Concord* (1856), p. 456, and in Joseph B. Walker, Life and Genealogy of Rev. T. Walker (a manuscript deposited in the New Hampshire Historical Society), ii, pp. 77 and 134–6.



Head Qrs 10 January 1779

Dear Sir

I have your favr of the 8th inclosing No 6 from C—. Your former inclosing C— No 5 came also safe. The Dragoon was detained a few days to recruit his Horse and to get some repairs to his Accoutrements.

I am Dear Sir

Your most obt Servt

Go Washington

Majr Talmadge

G[E]O[RGE] WASHINGTON TO MAJ[OR BENJAMIN] TAL[L]MADGE, JANUARY 18, 1779

Original letter to the chief of Washington's Secret Service

Gift of George A. Zabriskie, 1948

A REVOLUTIONARY SPY REPORTS TO HIS GENERAL

by R. W. G. Vail

AS TENCH TILGHMAN finished the letter he had been writing and handed it to General Washington for his signature, it occurred to him that this brief message emphasized two of the traits of his Commander in Chief which had helped to make him a great and successful leader of the Revolutionary cause. What other officer of the Continental Army would have been so considerate of the well-nigh exhausted dragoon who, after his long, cold ride from Danbury, had just brought in a report from the Army's principal spy, and who else would have been so cautious in acknowledging the receipt of the important message? The letter, addressed to Major Benjamin Tallmadge, chief of Washington's Secret Service, would certainly give very little information to the enemy if it should happen to fall into improper hands on its way back to Connecticut, for the General was careful to use only the initial of the pseudonym of the spy whose report he had just read and not even his military aids knew the real name of the Army's secret agent.

General Washington glanced over the letter and added his bold signature at the end. The message reads as follows:

Philad^{a}. 18 January 1779

Dear Sir

I have your fav^{r}. of the 8th enclosing No. 6 from C—.Your former enclosing C-s No. 5 came also safe. The Dragoon was detained a few days to recruit his Horse and to get some repairs to his Accoutrements.

I am Dear Sir

Your most ob^{t}. Serv^{t}.

G^{o}. Washington

Maj: Talmadge

This interesting and important Washington spy letter has just been added to our collections through the generosity of our Honorary President, Mr. George A. Zabriskie. It is the original letter which was safely delivered to Major Tallmadge, the retained copy of which is among the Washington papers in the Library of Congress from which it was published in the official Government edition of the *Writings of George Washington*, volume 13, page 23 note.

As you may learn in greater detail from Morton Pennypacker's *General Washington's Spies on Long Island and in New York*, one of the most important of these secret agents was Abraham Woodhull of Setauket, Long Island, who used the pseudonym *Samuel Culper* or *Samuel Culper Sr.* in writing his reports. Knowing this, it is easy to interpret the General's letter to Major Tallmadge as an acknowledgment of the receipt of Woodhull's fifth and sixth reports on the military situation in British-occupied New York City. Only Washington and Tallmadge, the head of his Secret Service, knew the identity of their spies, and the secret was so well kept that only in our day have the researches of Mr. Pennypacker succeeded in identifying these distinguished patriots who risked their lives daily so that their General might have accurate information on the movements of the British army. Their reports, written in code with disappearing ink, were taken by special messenger from New York to Woodhull's home on Long Island, thence by boat to General Putnam's headquarters at Danbury, Connecticut, and from there to General Washington at Philadelphia or elsewhere by one of the dragoons who acted as courier for the Army.

When Nathan Hale's unsuccessful efforts as a spy for Washington ended in his execution by the British on September 22, 1776,[1] the General realized the necessity for a more carefully

[1] In spite of the fact that William Kelby, then Librarian of this Society, correctly identified the place of execution of Nathan Hale in a letter to the New York *Herald* of November 26, 1893 (reprinted in The New-York Historical Society *Quarterly Bulletin*, April 1918, pp. 8–13), the *New York Herald Tribune*, in its account of the dedication of the Hale plaque on the Yale Club building on September 22, 1948, gave

BENJAMIN TALLMADGE

From a pencil sketch by John Trumbull

As reproduced in *Memoir of Col. Benjamin Tallmadge*
(New York: 1858)

worked-out system of espionage and, as a result, the Secret Service under Major Benjamin Tallmadge was inaugurated in October, 1778, and continued successfully throughout the war, thus giving Washington prompt and accurate information of the enemy operations which made it possible for him to outwit and outmanoeuvre the British generals.

---

the wrong location. Nathan Hale was executed on the grounds of the Dove Tavern, located between the present Third and Fourth Avenues and between 65th and 69th Streets.

FULTON'S "CLERMONT" AS SHE REALLY LOOKED

Watercolor by Richard Varick De Witt

Painted for presentation to The New-York Historical Society, 1858

[The inscription reads:] This Painting is a correct representation of the first Steamboat that successfully demonstrated the practicability of using Steam to propel vessels for commercial and travelling purposes. For its history see Colden's life of Fulton, and Munsell's Annals of Albany Vol 6th. The Vignette is the *Clermont* as she was used for a packet-boat in the year 1807, drawn from personal recollection and from descriptions of persons who travelled in the vessel. The Boat was about 100 feet long, propelled by a cross-head bell-crank Engine of 24 horse power made by Watt & Bolton. During the next winter the Vessel was enlarged, the wheels covered, the fly wheels placed within the Hull, and it assumed the form and equipment shown in the painting. It was called the *North River of Clermont*.

The painting is made from personal knowledge of the vessel. The Hull was about 150 feet long 18 wide, wth the Clermont's Engine.

I Riley Bartholomew for some time an officer of the Steamboat North River of Clermont certify the above to be a correct representation of that Vessel.

Albany September 1858. [*Signed*] *Riley Bartholomew*

TO THE

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY

This record of one of the great events in the world's history is respectfully offered for preservation among its archives by

[*Signed*] RICHd VARICK DE WITT
Delineator

A FIFTH ACCOUNT OF THE FIRST VOYAGE OF FULTON'S "CLERMONT"

by HENRY WINFRED SPLITTER

THERE have been published four major accounts of the famous trial voyage of Robert Fulton's first successful steamboat. The *Clermont*, we are told, left New York for Albany at 1 P.M. Monday, August 17, 1807, arriving there at 5 P.M. Wednesday after a leisurely stop-over at the Livingston estate for which she was named. At 9 A.M. Thursday she proceeded back to New York, completing the round trip at 4 P.M. Friday, August 21st. The average speed for the voyage was some five miles per hour.

When in 1786, at the age of twenty-one, the future inventor sailed for Europe with scant pocket money and a single letter of introduction, he perhaps would not have dreamed that on next seeing America, twenty years later, he would be on the one hand acclaimed, on the other derided, as the "man of the steam boat." In 1803 his first experimental model had sunk ignominiously in the Seine before its official demonstration and had to be salvaged and rebuilt; subsequently, even a moderately successful trial run failed to bring the cooperation from the French government for which he had hoped; yet, undaunted, he had promised to repeat his experiment when once back in his native country. It was Chancellor Robert R. Livingston of New York—cousin of Fulton's bride-to-be—who, while United States Minister to France, 1801–1804, financed much of the work preliminary to the *Clermont*. But the Chancellor was a canny investor, as were others, and even a mere thousand dollars needed in a particular crisis as the new boat neared completion could be obtained only after Fulton's urgent plea to ten personal friends. The years of preparation in Europe had brought Fulton no money and but little recognition and, although his deepest desire was to benefit his

fellow man, this individual—generally speaking—had shown himself more inclined to jeer than applaud. "The morning I left New York [for Albany]," says Fulton, "there were not perhaps thirty persons in the city who believed that the boat would ever move one mile an hour, or be of the least utility, and while we were putting off from the wharf, which was crowded with spectators, I heard a number of sarcastic remarks. This," he concludes bitterly, "is the way in which ignorant men compliment what they call philosophers and projectors."[1]

Fulton tells the story of this memorable first voyage in two extant letters: one to his friend Joel Barlow and the other, dated August 21, 1807, to the editor of the *American Citizen*.[2] A third account is that of an anonymous guest of Fulton and the Chancellor, written on September 8, 1807, which appeared in the English *Naval Chronicle* for the following year.[3] A fourth—dealing only with the return voyage, Albany-New York—is by a certain Monsieur Michaux,[4] a French botanist who, with his

[1] H. W. Dickinson, *Robert Fulton Engineer and Artist His Life and Works* (London: 1913), p. 218.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 217–8.

[3] *Naval Chronicle*, 1808, vol. xix, p. 188, as cited in Dickinson, pp. 219–21. The writer might be identified as the Dean of Ripon Cathedral, England, except that he apparently first boarded the boat, "then lying off Claremont . . . where she had arrived in twenty-four hours from New York," on the morning of August 19th, while the Dean (Alice Crary Sutcliffe, *Robert Fulton and the "Clermont"* [New York: 1909], p. 211) seems to have embarked at New York "*en route* to visit the Chancellor." The writer of the letter need not have been an Englishman; Dr. Samuel Latham Mitchill and the Irish-born Dr. William James MacNeven, for example, were both among Fulton's invited guests and, as eminent men of science, might have described the epoch-making voyage for friends abroad.

[4] Sutcliffe, pp. 228–32. François André Michaux (1770–1855) was a son of the noted French botanist and traveler André Michaux (1746–1802), who himself had visited the United States and Canada in 1785–97 and written two valuable books on North American plant life. The son accompanied his father on this earlier trip and twice again, in 1802 and 1806, was sent over by the French government. His *Histoire des arbres forestiers de l'Amérique* (3 vols., 1810–13) appeared in an English translation (1817–19) as *The North American Sylva* and was later completed for Western America by Thomas Nuttall. It would be interesting to know whether Michaux's companion on the *Clermont* was the Belgian horticulturalist and landscape gardener André Parmentier (1780–1830) who came to New York with his family in 1824 and founded a famous botanical garden in Brooklyn; his brother Joseph Parmentier (1775–1852), director of the "Parc Enghien" at Enghien, Belgium; or, less probably, their cousin Antoine-Augustin Parmentier (1737–1813), the famous French agricultural scientist who introduced the potato into France.

companion Parmentier and a very few others, had the privilege of being among the first paying passengers on an American steamboat. To this roster of four narratives there should now, I believe, be added a fifth.

The story here presented, like that of Michaux, is told concerning the return passage from Albany to New York, and by one of the paying passengers. On the upstream voyage only a group of near relatives and friends had accompanied the inventor; it was not until the return trip that paying passengers were taken. There were, according to the *Clermont* captain's book, five of these:[5]

List of passengers on board the North River Steamboat from Albany to New York, August 21, 1807:

	Dollars
Captain Thomas Hunt	7
Monsieur Parmentoo Monsieur Mishaud	13
Mr. D. E. Tyle	6
Captain Davies	1
	27

Mr. Fulton

The account is from the Buffalo *Commercial Advertiser* of September 16, 1850—a copy carried overland[6] by some eager Buffalonian bound for the California gold fields, presumably, and reprinted in the San Francisco *Herald* of November 19th:

Twenty years since, more or less, I formed a traveling acquaintance, upon a steamboat on the Hudson river, with a gentleman, who on that occasion related to me some incidents of the first voyage of Fulton to Albany, in his steamboat, the *Clermont*, which I have never met with elsewhere. . . . I chanced, said my narrator, to be at Albany on business, when Fulton arrived there in his unheard-of craft. Being ready to leave, and hearing that this craft was to return to New York, I repaired on board, and inquired for Mr. Fulton. I was referred to the cabin, and there

[5] Sutcliffe, pp. 232–3.

[6] There of course would not have been time for the trip round Cape Horn. The record passage (only twice equalled) between the East Coast and California during clipper-ship days was made by the *Flying Cloud*, which arrived at San Francisco on August 31, 1851, after a voyage of eighty-nine days. Arthur H. Clark, *The Clipper Ship Era* (New York: 1910), pp. 178–9.

I found a plain, gentlemanly man, wholly alone, and engaged in writing. "Mr. Fulton, I presume?" "Yes, sir." "Do you return to New York with this boat?" "We shall try to get back, sir." "Can I have a passage down?" "You can take your chance with us, sir." I inquired the amount to be paid, and after a moment's hesitation, a sum, I think six dollars, was named. This amount, in coin, I laid in his open hand, and with his eye fixed upon it he remained so long motionless that I supposed there might be a miscount, and said to him, "Is that right, sir?" This roused him as from a kind of revery, and his voice faltered as he said, "Excuse me, sir, but memory was busy as I contemplated this, the first pecuniary reward I have ever received for all my exertions in adapting steam to navigation. I would gladly commemorate the occasion over a bottle of wine with you, but really I am too poor even for that, just now; yet I trust we shall meet again when this will not be so."

The voyage to New York was successful, as all know, and terminated without accident.

Some four years after this [*my informant continued*], when the *Clermont* had been greatly improved and her name changed to the *North River* [1808],[7] and when two other boats, the *Car of Neptune* [1809] and the *Paragon* [1811] had been built, making Mr. Fulton's fleet three boats regularly plying between New York and Albany, I took passage upon one of these for the latter city. The cabin, in that day, was below: and as I walked its length, to and fro, I saw I was very closely observed by one I supposed a stranger. Soon, however, I recalled the features of Mr. Fulton; but without disclosing this I continued my walk and awaited the result. At length, in passing his seat, our eyes met, when he sprang to his feet, and eagerly seizing my hand, exclaimed, "I knew it must be you, for your features have never escaped me; and although I am still far from rich, yet I may venture that bottle now." It was ordered; and during its consumption, Mr. Fulton ran rapidly but vividly over his experience of the world's coldness and sneers, and of the hopes, fears, disappointments, and difficulties that were scattered through his whole career of discovery; up to the very point of his final, crowning triumph, at which he so fully felt he had at last arrived.

"And in reviewing all these," said he, "I have again and again recalled the occasion and the incident of our first interview, at Albany; and never

[7] An account of a trip from Albany to New York on this improved boat may be found in a letter from Orville Holley, May 23, 1809, to his father Luther Holley of Salisbury, Conn., owned by the N. Y. State Library and printed by Mr. Vail in that institution's *125th Annual Report* (1942), p. 21. The writer mentions "upwards of a hundred passengers, & among them Mr. Fulton the inventor of the boat," whom he calls "an agreeable man enough, rather vain," not "much like the inventor of so useful a piece of mechanism as the steam boat." The passage down was "very pleasant" except for a ten-hour delay caused by running aground in "an attempt the captain made to cross the middle ground, just off Chancellor Livingston's, & which attempt or experiment, ended much as experiments have ended for some years past."

have I done so without its renewing in my mind the vivid emotion it originally caused. That seemed, and does still seem to me, the turning point in my destiny, the dividing line between light and darkness in my career upon earth; for it was my first actual recognition of my usefulness to my fellow men."

The "gentleman" who so impressed Fulton appears to have been the D. E. Tyle[8] on the captain's list. Civilian status is seemingly indicated, thus eliminating the two captains, while either of the Frenchmen would certainly have been designated as such. Also, the fare of six dollars coincides with that noted by the captain opposite Tyle's name.

Fulton's somewhat emotional pessimism would here seem to illuminate the strain under which the inventor had been laboring up to that crucial week in August. His betrothal to Miss Harriet Livingston had just been announced (when the boat was nearing the wharf of Clermont), and his mind must have been preoccupied to a degree with the material requisites for married life. His statement about being too poor to afford a bottle of gratulatory wine was at least metaphorically true and indicates his craving for financial stability, while the concluding half of the story harmonizes in tone with what is known of Fulton's later years. In sum, this narrative would seem not only to be authentic, but to throw further light on a vital moment in the career of one of America's greatest inventors.

[8] It seems probable from the context of his story that D. E. Tyle lived in New York. While not a single Tyle is listed in the city directories of the period, we find frequent mention of a Daniel E. Tylee—the son of one James Tylee of Chatham Street who appears as early as 1792 as a leather inspector, opened a shoe store about 1804, and eventually branched out into saddlers' tools, continuing in business till his death in 1826. The son is first described in 1804–5 as a "coach painter" and an "ornamental sign and herald painter" on Pearl Street. In the next four directories he is not named at all but reappears at his father's address in 1809 and 1810. During these early years it is likely that his trade took him from place to place; on occasion he may even have done business for the father. Being young, and finding himself in Albany on the morning of August 21, 1807, ready to return to New York, he may well have seized on the novelty of a trip home via the *Clermont*. Later, Daniel E. Tylee appears to have settled down and become a substantial New York City businessman. From 1811 through 1817–18 he is listed as having a dry-goods store; then, following an interval during which his occupation is not given, he emerges in 1825–26 with a Chambers Street savings bank. This seems to have lasted up to the financial crisis of 1837. Still later, during the 1840's, Tylee was interested in sugar and in coal. About 1847–48 he apparently retired, and is last mentioned in the New York directory for 1852–53.

JOHN BROWN'S BLESSING JUST BEFORE HIS EXECUTION

By Thomas S. Noble, 1867

Gift of the painter's children, 1939

JOHN BROWN: SAINT OR SINNER?

by George A. Zabriskie

IT HAPPENED nearly a centry ago, son, but the controversy over whether old John Brown was a hero or a charlatan has not abated and we have no false hopes of settling the differences here. People living north of the Mason and Dixon line will always have a soft spot in their hearts for him, will always think of him as a hero, a martyr, and will revere his memory. For those living south of the line there are not enough adjectives to go round—he was a hypocrite, a horse thief, a liar,* and a murderer: there doesn't seem to be any middle ground.

Let's see if we can't get better acquainted with him. He was born in Torrington, Connecticut, on May 9, 1800, of Puritan ancestry. As a young man he engaged not only in the wool business but in a variety of other pursuits, in all of which he was uniformly unsuccessful—some even bringing him into court to answer charges of dishonesty. He married twice, first when he was twenty-one, had some twenty children, but seems never to have had either the disposition or the ability properly to maintain a family. He was, however, a man of considerable force and became a fanatic on the question of freeing the slaves. He was encouraged and assisted in this by Northern abolitionists who felt he was the right man to keep things agitated and if necessary wage their kind of campaign.

These same people raised considerable money with which Brown was supposed to purchase arms and ammunition, but how much was so applied and how much was diverted to Brown's

* Far be it from us to subscribe to this. Maybe he was just given to a little exaggeration as, for instance, when after the Osawatomie fight, in writing to his wife, Brown claimed some eighty killed and wounded among the enemy, whereas his next in command said there were nine killed and four wounded, while a member of Brown's own company reported that the losses were not more than twenty. The final count by the enemy says there were none killed and five wounded—the names of the men and character of their wounds being enumerated.

personal use is a question: he was known to have made no particular account of sums entrusted to him and he was not averse to a little cheating, either, when it came to getting land from the Government—but that was all in the day's work.

John Brown first appeared as a public character in the struggle which the anti-slave people were making for the control of Kansas and made himself notorious by the massacre of five men who held opposite views on the slave question at Pottawatomie the night of May 24, 1856. There has been some dispute as to whether John Brown was actually present on that occasion, but he was the recognized leader of the band and approved of all that was done. After that affair he was a fugitive charged with murder. Where did John Brown's heroism come in? And without that massacre would there have been any pro-slavery activity in Kansas? Another thing—there is no doubt that he and his guerilla band spent the summer living off the country. What did he do with the live stock stolen?

It is well to remember that nearly all biographers of Brown, men like Sanborn, Redpath, and Hinton were associates, tarred with the same stick, and of course were making a defense of themselves while writing a eulogy of Brown.

John Brown was certainly making sensational news. It is difficult to determine with any exactness the extent of his depredations. Newspaper editorials referred to them as "midnight murders, assassinations, burglarizing and arson." According to ex-Senator Hannigan of Indiana, visiting Kansas in June of '56, "the first cause of the trouble was the unjustifiable attempt of Eastern capitalists to engross the most valuable lands in the Territory, solely for the purpose of private speculation." It is significant, however, that these news stories gave no special prominence to the name of Brown. They merely mention "a notorious scoundrel who has figured largely in Lawrence and other places." The first attempt to clothe this anonymous being with a definite personality was made by H. C. Pate in a vivid word-portrait attached to a report in the *Leavenworth Herald*, June 21, 1856.

JOHN BROWN'S BIRTHPLACE, TORRINGTON, CONN., 1800
Engraving at The New-York Historical Society

Brown told me he would take the life of a man as quick as he would that of a dog, if he thought it was necessary. He said if a man stood between him and what he considered right, he would take his life as cooly as he would eat his breakfast. His actions show what he is. Always restless, he seems never to sleep. With an eye like a snake, he looks like a demon. Apparently a miserable outlaw, he prefers war to peace, that pillage and plunder may the more safely be carried on. And this is a leader of the Free State party in Kansas.

Now, while such a report might give the impression that Brown was not very popular, it was apple pie compared with articles and editorials appearing in the *Leavenworth Journal*, *Squatter Sovereign*, and *Leavenworth Herald*. These say that Brown's career would have immortalized an Italian bandit, that he was a highway robber, a midnight plunderer worse than anything ever known in this country. Horse stealing had become a business. He thought nothing of tearing men, women, and children from their homes at night and not merely murdering, but

mutilating their bodies in the most savage manner—in short, he was guilty of the most atrocious acts ever committed in any country or age. Of course, to ask a reader to wade through several scores of pages of this is to expect too much, so the Lexington, Missouri, *Citizen* softens it up a bit, by saying:

> That abolitionists have been guilty of repeated acts of atrocity, murder, robbery, arson and horse stealing in the Territory, none of their own villainous party will deny: but that they have done all that has been said against them is neither true nor probable. There are Southern men just as bad as the worst abolitionist. That some of these men have been guilty of horse stealing and probably murder in the name and on the credit of the abolitionists—that their thefts have been perpetrated on Northern and Southern men without distinction—will hardly admit of a doubt.

This is about as near an one can get to an impartial statement. The position of the *New York Tribune* was essentially radical—everything a Free State man did was meritorious, everything a pro-slavery man did was an outrage. In fact, according to James C. Malin, Professor of American History, University of Kansas, "The preëminent position in either ignorance, or falsehood, or both, was easily earned by the *New York Tribune* in an editorial, 'John Brown, then a peaceful and quiet citizen, went to Kansas with no intention to do anything against slavery excepting so far as his vote and influence might go to keep it out of the Territory.'" According to the *Tribune*, it was when the Missourians invaded Kansas, with the support of the Federal Government, that he joined with the Free State men in forming the Topeka constitution. Well, under this document a son was elected to the legislature, arrested, driven insane, and died.

The kind of man John Brown was, matters little. There were few who knew much about him or who cared to make the effort to find out. He was probably more than a fanatic and maybe he was a mad man. A good many people thought so and certainly his Harper's Ferry raid did not indicate sound judgment. This is described by Elijah Avery, an eye witness, who claims that Brown was a victim of his own fanaticism. Anyway, with a handful of men—twenty-two in all—he set out on a Sunday night,

HARPER'S FERRY (FROM POTOMAC SIDE)
Currier & Ives Lithograph
The New-York Historical Society

October 16, 1859, to capture the arsenal. This was climaxed on Tuesday morning at 7 o'clock by his defeat and capture by a company of ninety marines from Washington, led by Colonel Robert E. Lee and Lieutenant J.E.B. Stuart. Brown was wounded by the soldiers' bayonets, so that it was necessary to carry him on a stretcher to the trial room where he exclaimed, "Gentlemen, it is no use whatever to hold the mockery of a trial over me; take me out and hang me at once." With that he dropped back exhausted, the trial proceeded and when a defense of insanity was suggested, he repelled it with indignation.

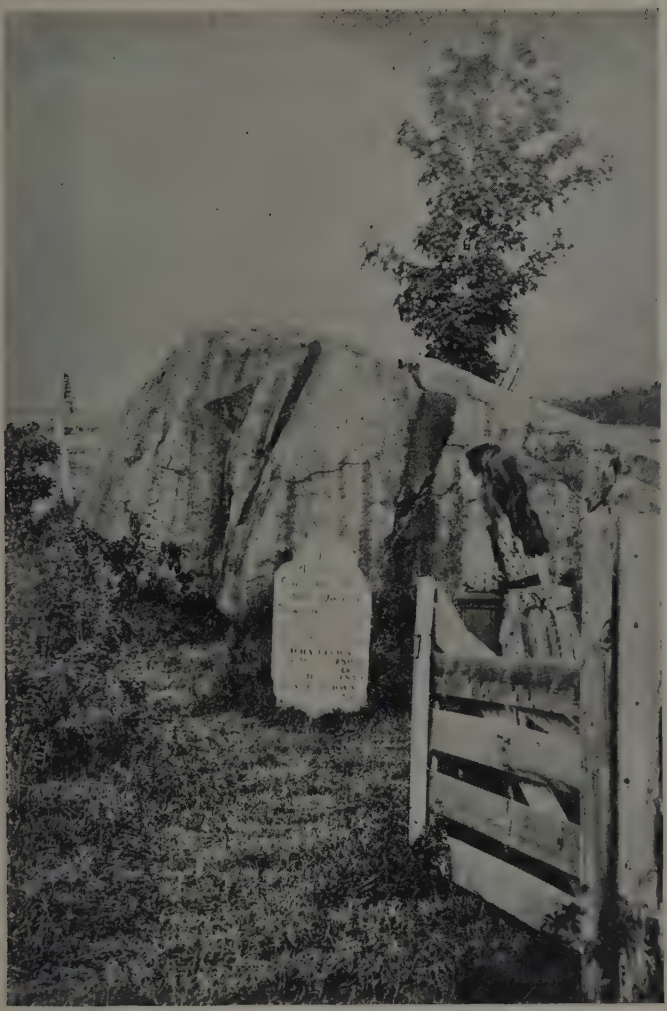
When, after his conviction, he was brought into court on the second day of November to listen to the judgment and directed to stand up and say why sentence should not be passed upon him, he began, "May it please the Court, I have a few words to say." He then denied everything except the design on his part to free the slaves. He admitted taking them and leaving them in Canada

and desired the same thing done on a larger scale. He claimed that he never did "intend murder, or treason, or the destruction of property, or to excite or incite slaves to rebellion, or to make insurrection," and he wound up his remarks by saying, "Now if it is deemed necessary that I should forfeit my life for the furtherance of the ends of justice and mingle my blood with the blood of my children and with the blood of millions in this slave country whose rights are disregarded by wicked, cruel and unjust enactments, I submit; so let it be done." In the hush that followed, John Brown was sentenced to be hanged publicly on Friday, December 2, 1859, between the hours of 9 A.M. and 4 P.M. The trap fell at 11:30 A.M. and he was 59 years, 5 months, and 29 days old when he came to his death.

Now, if we have time, let's look at some of the biographies. Hill P. Wilson compiled a volume of sketches of prominent men by various writers, published in 1901, but says that while he started out to write one of John Brown for inclusion in it, and in spite of his admiration for the old hero, the Idol crumbled in his hands. Horse stealing stood out as too conspicuous a factor. "He appears to me to have been a man of immature mind."

Emerson delivered three lectures endorsing Brown, but Professor Malin says he "favored his admirers with a biographical sketch of the martyr which was false in almost every detail, but facts never bothered Emerson."

Redpath, when reproached for inaccuracy concerning Brown, replied that "it sounded better as he reported it and would have a more telling effect in the East." He claimed to have had intimate acquaintance with five of the Harper's Ferry men and wrote many articles for the *Boston Atlas and Daily Bee*, the *New York Tribune*, and apparently any other medium that would publish them, but according to Professor Malin again, there was "scarcely a true statement appearing in the whole lot," adding that Redpath "was so emotionally unstable that he could not make a straightforward statement of fact even when it would have been to his advantage to do so."



JOHN BROWN'S GRAVE, NORTH ELBA, NEW YORK

Photograph, at The New-York Historical Society

Thoreau was another man who admired Brown, but after Harper's Ferry, he admitted that he knew little of him, though he declared boldly that, "I see now that it was necessary that the bravest and the humanest man in all the country should be hung. Perhaps he saw it himself. I almost fear that I may yet hear of his deliverance, doubting if any life can do as much as his death."

The Reverend Mr. Belcher struck the same note when he said, "John Brown will undoubtedly be hung. 'Tis well. He headed insurrection and became accountable for bloodshed, and must be hung. 'Tis well, I repeat. 'Tis better than that he should live. . . . On the day that that man is hung the whole sum of Slavery . . . will receive so fatal a stab, that it will never recover."

Of course, it was John Brown, not they, who was to be hanged by the neck until dead on December 2nd, but John Brown, himself, said in a letter to his brother shortly before, "I am quite cheerful in view of my approaching end, being fully persuaded that I am worth inconceivably more to hang than for any other purpose."

And so, if it is insanity that makes men martyrs, then John Brown was insane enough to throw himself so completely into the character designated for him that he met doom with "Good Cheer."

We have not bothered to say anything of John Brown's body lying "a mouldering in the grave" while "his soul goes marching on," because, after all, John Brown had no more to do with pilfering that song than he had with changing "ten little, nine little, eight little injuns" into (deplorably) "ten little, nine little, eight little niggers."

DEVELOPMENT OF THE SALT INDUSTRY IN NEW YORK

by E. B. Tustin, Jr.

WHEN Hendrick Hudson cautiously sounded his way, September 3, 1609, into what is now called New York Harbor, the salt industry of New York, which now accounts for 19 percent of the nation's total production[1] was, so to speak, in the hands of the American aborigines—a discovery made in the 1930's by Arthur C. King, Indian anthropologist and engineer of Toms River, New Jersey. Excavations under King's supervision for the foundation of a bridge 200 yards above the mouth of Oyster Creek, a tributary of Forked River at Barnegat Bay, New Jersey, brought to light several shell-mounds containing, along with other ancient Indian relics and skeletons, clay vessels encrusted with sea salt—obviously salt-evaporating vats. The largest of these vats was six inches deep and fifteen feet in circumference. They were filled from the nearby bay with sea water, which was then allowed to evaporate in the sun's rays. When complete evaporation was accomplished the salt residue was shoveled out onto the ground and the process repeated.

One of King's most interesting discoveries was the location of salt depositories so made, and left by the Indians hundreds of years ago. The depositories covered more than three quarters of an acre to an average thickness of about six inches. The salt was impregnated with sand and in blocks or chunks which fell apart when struck a sharp blow with a stick. The tribes which left evidences of these activities at many places along the New Jersey seacoast were mostly from southern New York and Long Island. It was their custom to plant their farms in the spring, then travel to the shore to fish, make salt, gather oysters and dry them

[1] U. S. Bureau of Mines, *Salt* (reprinted from *Minerals Yearbook*, Washington, D.C., 1945), 3.

for winter. When the summer work was over the tribes would return to New York or other homeland and harvest their crops.[2]

The early settlers also made salt from sea water. As an adequate supply of salt was necessary for food-preservation and agriculture, many of the Colonial patents and monopolies were granted as inducements to manufacture this essential commodity.[3] The earliest record of salt-making in New Netherland is a patent granted to Dirck de Wolff on April 14, 1661, giving him the exclusive privilege for seven years to make salt for New Amsterdam. He began its manufacture at Coney Island, which he received as a grant. The people of Gravesend, however, who claimed the Island, stopped de Wolff's enterprise and he was obliged to abandon it, notwithstanding the military force that Peter Stuyvesant sent to protect and encourage him.[4]

DISCOVERY OF SALT SPRINGS

The presence of salt in the interior of New York State was first made manifest through saline springs discovered by the Iroquois in Onondaga County near Syracuse.[5] About the middle of the 17th century several Jesuit missionaries came upon these springs, thought by the natives to be possessed of demons, found them to be salines, and taught the Indians how the demons could be exorcised by means of fire, and salt produced by simply boiling the brine to dryness. In their published *Relations* the Jesuit fathers recorded the circumstances of their discovery. Father Simon Le Moyne wrote in his Relation of August 16, 1654:

> We arrive at the entrance to a little lake [Onondaga] in a great basin that is half dried up, and taste the water from a spring of which these

[2] Indian data from notes taken at interview at Toms River, N. J., Aug. 5, 1947, with Arthur C. King. Mr. King is vice-chairman, The Delaware River Joint Commission of Pennsylvania and New Jersey (Camden, N. J.); Indian anthropologist; founder of King Indian Museum, Toms River, N. J., which contains 850,000 classified Indian relics.

[3] "Colonial Monopolies and Patents," in *Outline of the History of the United States Patent Office* [Reprint of the July 1936 number of the *Journal of the Patent Office Society*], (Washington, D. C., Patent Office Society, 1936), 35–37.

[4] J. R. Brodhead, *History of the State of New York*, I (1859), 694.

[5] F. J. H. Merrill, "Salt and Gypsum Industries of N. Y.," *Bull. N. Y. State Museum*, III, No. 11 (1893), 14–15.

people dare not drink, as they say there is an evil spirit in it that renders it foul. Upon tasting of it, I find it to be a spring of salt water; and indeed we made some salt from it, as natural as that which comes from the sea, and are carrying a sample of it to Quebec.[6]

Marie de l'Incarnation says that the Iroquois supposed the water of the salt springs to be poison, and thought that it was by a miracle that the French obtained salt from the water.[7] The site of the Jesuit well is now marked by a monument along the eastern shore of the lake on the outskirts of Syracuse.[8]

After the visit of the Jesuit Fathers the Indians no longer feared the salt springs, and thenceforth made salt for their own use. John Bartram, writing of his travels in the Onondaga region in July 1743, stated that the Indians dug holes about two feet deep in the sandy beach, which soon filled with brine. They boiled the water in kettles to make salt. He too boiled some brine to make salt for his own use.[9] A Diary kept by Moravian missionaries to the Five Nations in 1750 records that an old Indian woman baked bread for them to take on their journey. She also gave them some very fine salt.[10] In 1770 a party of Indians brought a quantity of salt to the house at Colchester of Judge Bowker, who had formerly seen it made himself at Onondaga Lake by the Indian squaws. It was common at that period for the traders, who always spoke in high praise of the salt springs at Onondaga, to bring small quantities of this salt to Albany along with their furs, as a curiosity.[11]

It was not until 1788 that the systematic manufacture of salt by white men was begun at Onondaga Lake. In that year Comfort Tyler settled in the Onondaga neighborhood. In a letter

[6] *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610–1791* . . . , edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites (Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers Company, 1896–1901), XLI, 123 & 125, 255.

[7] *Lettres de la Reverende Mere, Marie de l'Incarnation*, Nouvelle Edition par l'Abbe Richaudeau (Paris, Leipzig, Tournai: 1876), II, 64.

[8] Author visited site, July, 1947.

[9] John Bartram, *Observations on the Inhabitants, Climate, Soil, Rivers, Production, Animals, and other matters worthy of Notice* (Reprinted: Rochester, N. Y., 1895; First published: London, 1751), 44–45.

[10] *Moravian Journals Relating to Central New York 1745–66*, edited and arranged by Rev. Wm. M. Beauchamp (Syracuse, N. Y.: 1916), 43.

[11] Joshua V. H. Clark, *Onondaga*, (Syracuse: 1849), II, 9.

"THERE IS THE SALT"

Comfort Tyler being shown an Onondaga salt spring, 1788
Mural by E. N. Clark, 1936

Owned by Utica (N. Y.) Mutual Insurance Company

written by Tyler in his later years to Dr. Jeremiah Van Rensselaer he tells of his discovery of salt:

In the month of April, in the year 1778, I removed from Johnstown in the county of Montgomery, with the family of Asa Danforth (having previously obtained the permission of the Indians), to Onondaga Hollow. In the month of May of the same year, the family wanting salt, obtained about a pound from the Indians, which they had made from the water of the springs upon the shore of the lake. The Indians offered to discover the water to us. Accordingly, I went with an Indian guide to the lake, taking along an iron kettle of fifteen gallons capacity; this he placed in his canoe, and steered out of the mouth of Onondaga Creek (where we were then) into a pass, now called Salt or Mud Creek. After passing over the marsh he stopped his canoe about 100 feet from the land, and pointed down into a hole, apparently artificial, and told me "there was the salt." I went on shore, put up crotches, suspended my kettle and with the canoe and bucket obtained water to fill it and in about nine hours made 30 pounds of salt.

We continued to make salt in this way until Dec. 1789, when a man by the name of Nathaniel Loomis (then a settler in Whitesboro) came on with a few kettles by the way of Rome and Wood Creek, and in Dec.

1789 and winter of 1790, made from 500 to 600 bushels of salt. . . . Those works were kept in operation about 2 years. [12]

John Danforth, brother of Asa Danforth, commenced making salt at the Onondaga Springs in 1794.[13]

The State had made a treaty with the Onondaga Indians on September 12, 1788, at Fort Schuyler, by which all their lands, except a tract called the Onondaga Reservation for their residence, was ceded to the State. The consideration for the sale was the down payment of 1,000 French crowns, 200 pounds of clothing, and, in addition, 500 silver dollars to be paid the tribe in perpetuity, every year on June first. In return for the transference of part of the remaining Indian territory in 1815, the annual payment by the State to the Onondagas, commencing that year, was increased to $2,430 plus 150 bushels of salt.[14]

By 1797 the manufacture of salt had so increased that the State Legislature passed laws regulating its grading and appointed William Stephens superintendant of the Onondaga Salt Springs Reservation. Land rent was charged at the rate of 4 cents per bushel of salt produced, plus 1 cent per bushel for storage, the State supplying storage facilities. Each manufacturer set his own pumps, several salt-producers sometimes using the same well.[15]

The establishment of the Salt Springs Reservation in 1797 was followed by the formation of the Federal Company, which erected the largest salt-making plant of the period—32 kettles set in blocks of four each.[16] At first the brine was pumped by hand from shallow wells through wooden pipes but as the wells deepened horsepower and subsequently water-power derived from several small streams in the vicinity was used to lift the brine.[17] To obtain a bushel (or about 56 pounds) of salt, only 30 to 45 gallons of brine needed to be evaporated as compared with 300 to 350

[12] Jeremiah Van Renssalaer, M.D., *An Essay on Salt*, (New York: 1823), 77–78.
[13] State Historical Marker on site, Liverpool, N. Y.
[14] Clark, *op. cit.*, I, 348 *et seq.*
[15] *Ibid.*, II, 11ff, 16.
[16] W. C. Phalen, *Salt Resources of the United States*, (Bull. 669, Dept. of the Interior, 1919), 15.
[17] *Ibid.*; Salt Museum, Liverpool, N. Y.; D. D. Luther, *Brine Springs and Salt Wells of New York*, (N. Y. State Geological Report, No. 16, 1896), 181.

gallons of sea water required to obtain the same amount of salt.[18] The original size of the Salt Springs Reservation was 15,000 acres surrounding the head of Onondaga Lake but the area was reduced from time to time until 1908, when the control of the lands and wells was relinquished to the Onondaga Pipe Line Company and the Mutual Pipe Line Company, of Syracuse, for $15,000.[19]

DIFFICULTIES OF TRANSPORTATION

At the time the salt springs were put into commercial operation the State was sparsely settled and roads up-State were few or nonexistent. In 1794 the present flourishing city of Utica, once the site of Fort Schuyler, had but two houses. From Utica to Canandaigua people traveled for several years by "blazed paths,"[20] and a trip for salt was a hazardous undertaking because of the many wolves roaming the forests.[21]

Benjamin Genung, a Revolutionary soldier, who in 1799 settled on a land grant east of Slatersville near the southern end of Lake Cayuga, has left a graphic narrative of an encounter with a pack of wolves one day in 1804 while returning from Onondaga Lake with a winter's supply of salt for himself and his neighboring settlers. The seventy-mile trip required three and one-half days each way by ox team. Snow was in the air on the last day of the trip and a blizzard was soon raging. Genung prodded his oxen on urgently. Out of the swirling mist a pack of timber wolves appeared and in a moment they were rushing on the man and his team. Genung quickly grasped his ax from amid the sledge-load of salt bags and, heroically standing his ground, slashed down the vicious beasts as they attacked, bringing his load of salt home safely.[22]

[18] *Popular Science Monthly*, XXV (August, 1884), 534.

[19] Phalen, *op. cit.*, 15.

[20] John F. Watson, *Historic Tales of Olden Times concerning the Early Settlement and Advancement of New York City and State* (New York: 1832), 41.

[21] A commentary on the prevalence of wolves in those times is the circumstance that as late as the years 1815 to 1820, the State expended $38,260 for killing wolves in 37 of the western counties. Watson, *op. cit.*, 57n.

[22] A. B. Genung (great-great-grandson of Benjamin Genung), "A Trip for Salt," *American Agriculturist* (Ithaca, Sept. 21, 1946). (There is an Historical State marker on Genung homestead).

Development of waterways aided greatly in the transportation of salt and consequently the growth of the salt business.

General James O'Hara, of Pittsburgh, saw commercial possibilities for himself and for the Pittsburgh region in a plan to provide salt at reduced prices. Visiting Niagara in 1796, he learned that salt from Onondaga could be fetched cheaper than salt from Baltimore, which had to be transported over the Allegheny Mountains.[23] The General made a contract with the Government to supply the fort at Oswego on Lake Ontario near the Onondaga salt works with provisions. These he packed in barrels that were suitable for the shipment of salt. In his contract with the Government, he reserved the barrels in which to bring salt back.[24] He solved his transportation problem by sending the salt down the Oswego River to Lake Ontario, thence to Lake Erie and the present site of Erie, Pennsylvania, then by portage to French Creek and down that stream to Pittsburgh.[25] General O'Hara provided the Pittsburgh markets with salt at $4.00 per bushel whereas, theretofore, it had cost as much as $8.00 when brought overland on pack horses from the eastern sources.[26]

A route linking western and eastern New York State, was realized in October 1825 with the completion of the New York State Barge Canal, for over a hundred years one of the most important commercial arteries in the nation.[27] The canal facilitated the transportation of salt through the forest wilderness. DeWitt Clinton, one of the most energetic sponsors[28] of the canal, wrote in his letters on the Natural History and Internal Resources of the State of New York:

I consider the salt manufacture of Saline (Syracuse) the most important establishment in the United States. It renders the nation so far independent of foreign aid: millions of bushels can be made. Without the canals its usefulness would be very circumscribed—but now the facilities

[23] Neville B. Craig, *The History of Pittsburgh* (Pittsburgh: 1917), 272.
[24] Hon. Judge Wilkeson, "Early Recollection of the West," *American Pioneer*, II:4 (June 1843), 270.
[25] Rev. A. A. Lambing and J. W. F. White, *Allegheny County: Its Early History and Subsequent Development from the Earliest Period* . . . (Pittsburgh: 1888), 80–81.
[26] Wilkeson, *op. cit.*, II, 270.
[27] "The State Barge Canal," *New York Herald Tribune*, Sept. 7, 1947.
[28] Watson, *op. cit.*, 210.

of inland navigation enable the conveyance of this indispensable mineral to the remotest regions of the west, and to the shores of the Atlantic ocean.[29]

Syracuse, on the route of the canal, is said to have grown as if enchanted due to the gains of the salt works following the opening of the Barge Canal.[30]

ROCK SALT AND HYDRAULIC SALT MINING

The existence of a bed of rock salt in New York southwest of Syracuse had been long believed by geologists. Vanuxem, in 1839, and Beck, in 1842, expressed the belief that such a deposit was the source of the brines at Syracuse. It remained, however, for an accident to demonstrate the truth of this theory and in a locality where salt was least suspected.[31]

In 1865, in the village of Vincent, Ontario County, a local company in search of oil made a deep boring on land owned by Eli Rice. After drilling through shale and limestone, a bed of rock salt was struck 1,300 feet below the surface. This marked the first discovery of rock salt in New York State. The owners failed to realize the importance of their find, however, and it was not generally known, or believed, until thirteen years later when drilling in another locality reached the same extensive bed of salt.[32]

Toward the close of 1877 the Vacuum Oil Company of Rochester sank several test wells in different localities for the purpose of developing new oil territory. The president of the company, C. B. Everett, had been at one time a resident of the town Wyoming, thirty-eight miles southwest of Rochester, and under his direction a well was sunk a mile south of the village of Wyoming on the farm of C. B. Mathews. In the spring of 1878,

[29] Hibernicus [*i.e.*, DeWitt Clinton], *Letters on the Natural History and Internal Resources of the State of New York* (New York: 1822), 123.

[30] John F. Watson, *Annals and Occurrences of New York City and State in the Olden Time* (Philadelphia: 1846), 104.

[31] Prof. James Hall, *Fifth Annual Report of the State Geologist for the year 1885* (Albany: 1886), 13.

[32] Luther, *op. cit.*, 184.

SALT-MAKING AT SYRACUSE, N.Y., 1857

[Brine from near-by springs was evaporated in blocks of kettles and the salt, after draining, stored in neighboring compartments.]

Woodcut, *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, Aug. 8, 1857

the drill struck a bed of rock salt seventy feet thick.[33] The log[34] of the boring was:

	Depth in feet to bottom of substances
Soil and clay	40
Shales	260
Limestone	270
Slate	673
Limestone	865
Shale	1270
Rock salt	1340

The well became known as the Pioneer Well.[31] Three years later, works with the small capacity of forty barrels of salt a day were in operation and on March 1, 1881, salt was first made from

[33] Hall, *op. cit.*, 13.
[34] Phalen, *op. cit.*, 27.

artificial brine. In April the first shipment of one hundred barrels went forward to one of the owners, Mr. Moulson, of New York City. Capitalists commenced to invest money in the new field. A large number of wells were sunk in Wyoming and Livingston Counties of western New York, and growth of the salt industry was very rapid.[35]

The process of making artificial brine, or the hydraulic method widely used of obtaining salt from underground, consists of forcing fresh water into the well, permitting it to dissolve salt by contact with the underground deposit, and then expelling the brine from the well by water pressure. This is accomplished by means of a pipe within a pipe, water being forced down between the pipes and brine brought up the center pipe. A patent for the process was issued to George H. Smith of New York City on March 6, 1883, U. S. Patent #273623. Today compressed air is used at some plants to force the brine to the surface.

THE VACUUM PAN PROCESS

The first vacuum pan used in the United States for the manufacture of salt, was operated by the brothers Joseph M. and John H. Duncan, at Warsaw, New York, in the spring of 1885.

In late 1883 Joseph M. Duncan was attracted to western New York by the discovery of large deposits of salt in the Wyoming Valley, and, coming to Warsaw, New York, he built the plant of the Warsaw Salt Company there. At Warsaw Mr. Duncan began experiments with the vacuum process of evaporating brine, believing that it would make a salt of finer luster, more uniform grain and higher purity than any theretofore obtained. An experimental vacuum pan, about four feet in diameter was built and patents applied for. The brothers then left Warsaw and organized the Duncan Salt Company at Silver Springs, New York. During 1886 they constructed a vacuum pan seven feet in diameter. This was the first commercial vacuum pan for the manufacture of salt. The crystals were perfect cubes, in contrast to the irregular-shaped salt then on the market.

[35] Hall, *op. cit.*, 13–16.

WELL DERRICKS, WORCESTER SALT COMPANY'S REFINERY,
SILVER SPRINGS, N. Y.

[These wells were built between 1886 and 1900. Brine is pumped up from salt veins half a mile underground.]

Photograph, 1932, courtesy Worcester Salt Company, New York City

The Duncan brothers were also the first to employ the centrifugal principle of drying salt. In their plant at Silver Springs, the bottom of their vacuum pans was constructed with valves, so that the salt could be drawn directly from the bottom of the pan into the centrifugal dryer without the aid of an elevator or other machinery. This method of production gave their product a reputation for cleanliness.

In 1894 the Duncan Salt Company was merged with the sales agency of Nash, Whiton & Company to form the Worcester Salt Company, one of today's large producers, manufacturers of Ivory Salt.[36]

The more civilization has progressed, the more demand there has been for salt to supply the hundreds of uses to which it is put in foods, agriculture, and industry.[37] Of the thirteen salt-producing States, New York ranks second, preceeded only by Michigan. The New York State output in recent years has increased to almost three million tons annually, representing about ten percent of world production.[38]

[36] W. C. Phalen, *Technology of Salt Making in the United States,* (Bull. 146, Dept. of the Interior, 1917), 98–99. The Worcester Salt Company is now a division of the Morton Salt Company.

[37] Contrary to popular belief, the smallest proportion of the country's salt production is used for human consumption and on the farm. While about 12 pounds per capita is the steady annual consumption of salt in foods, the employment of salt for all purposes has increased from 97 pounds per capita in 1910 to 228 pounds per capita in 1945.

Salt use closely parallels the index of general business activity. Our tremendous salt consumption last year of 15,400,000 tons reflects the giant strides taken by industry, and the creation in recent years of new products out of salt and its derivatives, sodium and chlorine.

A telling blow was struck at Japan's silk industry some years ago in the discovery of rayon, a fabric manufactured by means of caustic soda, which comes from salt. Our history-making modern plastics owe their existence to salt compounds. Synthetic rubber is made from coal, lime, water, and salt.

Salt is an ingredient of a large number of things used in everyday life. The bearings and parts in automobiles have been casehardened with a salt derivative. There is salt in the steering wheel and in the anti-knock in gasoline.

Nylon yarn, dyes, and the insecticide D.D.T. depend on salt, as do glassware, fire-extinguisher fluids, photographic materials, bleaches for paper, sweeping compounds, soot removers, refrigerants, anaesthetics, "sulfa" drugs, and vitamins and other pharmaceuticals, as well as the chlorine used to purify drinking water. More than 266,000 tons of salt were needed in 1945 just to preserve skins and hides for leather.

[38] U. S. Bureau of Mines, *Salt* (reprinted from *Minerals Yearbook,* Washington, D. C., 1945), 10.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Pioneer Life in Kentucky 1785–1800. By Daniel Drake, M.D. Edited from the original manuscript, with introductory comments and a biographical sketch by Emmet Field Horine, M.D. (New York: Henry Schuman, 1948. xix + 257 pages, illus., index. $4.00)

This book is the second reprinting of the memoirs of a man who grew up on the frontier of the advancing line of civilization which was then just west of the Allegheny Mountains. He later became a physician, one of the few who practiced with distinction in our country during the early years of the 19th century, who lay the foundation upon which the present-day medicine of the United States has been built. Though born of humble pioneer stock and raised to maturity on the edge of the wilderness, he nevertheless became a man of learning and one prominent in the affairs of the community in which he lived.

Born in the East, Daniel Drake had, at an early age, been taken by his parents, traveling in a two-horse wagon, across the Allegheney Mountains and down into the Ohio Valley where they settled in Kentucky. Here young Drake grew up. During the winter months he journeyed each day to the primitive country schoolhouse two miles distant from his family's one-room log-cabin home, to receive a most meager elementary education. From March to November he worked, even during the early years of childhood, at first assisting his mother with her chores about the house or milking and tending the stock or when older, helping his father in clearing the land and tilling the soil. Occasionally, however, he found time to roam through the virgin forest, where he noted the flowers and observed the actions of the animals. At times, when a little older, he took his flintlock shotgun and returned to his mother with rabbit or squirrel for the pot at home. Samuel D. Gross, the famous Philadelphia surgeon, at one time his associate and later his biographer, writes that this life "eminently fitted him for the observation of nature necessary for a physician. . . . Thus it will be seen that his alma mater was the forest. . . ."

At fifteen years of age young Daniel, though ill prepared in his scholastic studies, became apprenticed to a physician in Cincinnati. During the four years of apprenticeship he also received instruction in Latin. Having fulfilled the requirements of the apprenticeship, he commenced to practice but soon after visited Philadelphia where he attended the lectures of Benjamin Rush, Philip Syng Physick, Casper Wister, and others of the faculty of the University of Pennsylvania. For some years he practiced his profession in Cincinnati but again visited Philadelphia in the year 1815 to complete the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Medicine. Returning to Cincinnati, he soon built up a profitable practice. "But this was by no means his only employment. His mind was evidently occupied with various ambitious plans—professional, commercial, and literary—all

of which were successively developed in his after life and influenced his character and fortune in various ways." He became one of the founders of a school of medicine in Cincinnati, he taught medicine in the now-defunct Transylvania University and the Louisville Medical Institute (now the University of Louisville) and was invited to fill the chair of Professor of Medicine in Jefferson Medical College, where, however, he remained for only one year. Notwithstanding all of his medical interests —its practice, the teaching of students and the writing of papers—and the active part taken by him in civic affairs, it seems he found time to prepare historical articles concerning the Ohio Valley. He had many friends, among whom were Abraham Lincoln and Daniel Webster.

Daniel Drake was often heard to complain that he knew so little concerning his forebears—that his parents had never reminisced of their childhood years. He therefore decided that his children should be told of his youth and in consequence determined to furnish them with a memoir of his boyhood days while living in his pioneer home in Kentucky. Though most busy, he apparently found time now and then, perhaps during the late hours of night or the early ones of the morning, to place some of his recollections of life during these pioneer days upon paper in the form of an individual letter to one of his children.

He wrote in all ten such letters of various lengths, each one more or less given up to a particular subject, such as the housework of his mother or the clearing of the forests by his father or some experience of his concerning the frontier, for he did not write these memoirs in a chronological order. These letters having been preserved by the members of his family were eventually gathered together by his son, Charles Daniel Drake and published in 1870 as a volume of the Ohio Valley Historical Series. Because of the interest aroused by them, the edition was soon expended and today the demand for a copy of the first edition is so great that the editor of the present printing informs us that it has become a collectors' item. A reprinting was made in 1907 but this carried all the changes and omissions of the first edition. The editor of the present edition informs us that "hundreds of changes had been made by the editor without notation." Dr. Horine, the present editor, has carefully consulted the original manuscripts of the memoirs and has restored the text to its original form. He has provided the reader with a biographical sketch of Daniel Drake and numerous valuable annotations to the text including introductory comments preceding each of the ten letters.

Though coming from a family of whom he writes to his youngest daughter Harriet: "Were my progenitors, then persons of fortune, learning or fame? They were not—so far from it, they were in very moderate circumstances, illiterate and unknown to fame," and favored with but a sketchy kind of primary-school education, it becomes evident after a reading of his memoirs that Daniel Drake had come a very long way after

leaving his pioneer home through educating himself. In these memoirs his language and descriptions, in many cases almost poetic, are those of a well-educated man. The author is found to be as well a keen and accurate observer, a student of geology, botany, zoology, and agriculture. He had besides a very practical idea of psychology, which with his human and kindly character provided him with an understanding of others. And finally throughout the memoirs there is evidence of a real sense of humor.

Though the purpose of these letters was to record Daniel Drake's recollections, which seem to have been most acute, of the customs and habits of the time in this frontier district, the important events that occurred, and the feelings and reactions he underwent, the auhor notwithstanding occasionally strays from the past to the present to comment on some happening of the day, the hour at which he wrote or other incidents that may have impressed him. All of which makes the letters more personal and human and consequently of more interest to the reader.

It would be impossible to recite the many diverting and instructive passages in these letters. The incidents and descriptions presented are both like the author human and natural. Anyone opening this book at random will at once find matter for thought and after reading a little further will wonder at the perseverance and industry of these pioneers who pushed west after crossing the Alleghenies to open new lands for inhabitation of the white man. As the editor of this edition informs us: "This book, although written by the most eminent early nineteenth century physician of the Central West, is not a medical treatise. It is an intimate and detailed portrayal of farm and family life in a fascinating and significant period of the United States. It stands unique as an extraordinarily faithful account of the simple but varied pursuits of the pioneer." For historian or novelist writing of this time in this part of the country, *Pioneer Life in Kentucky* would seem to be a most important work to be read and studied and the casual reader will find it both interesting and entertaining. In ending this review it should be mentioned that the format of this volume is pleasing and that the illustrations are well reproduced.

The New-York Historical Society — Fenwick Beekman, M.D.

Arsenals of a Democratic Culture: A Social History of the American Public Library Movement in New England and the Middle States from 1850 to 1900. By Sidney Ditzion, with a foreword by Merle Curti. (Chicago: American Library Association, 1947. xiii + 263 pages, biblio., index. $5.00.)

The book is described and delimited by the subtitle more prosaically and more precisely than by the rhetorical outset. It is limited to the public library movement in the northeast in the latter half of the 19th century. It is a study and record of the development of the public library as an in-

strument or an institution of society, a study of the social motives that prompted the founding and development of the general library supported by public funds for the use of the community. Oh, yes, the intellectual and other sides of the movement are mentioned, but the emphasis, as the title page sets forth, is always on the action and reaction between the library and the social organism.

The "society" or "social" or subscription library is mentioned, as also the "mercantile" or "mechanics" library that flourished in noteworthy if not particularly lasting fashion after Benjamin Franklin set the model with his Library Company of Philadelphia. The time limit of the story gives no chance for a word about the library movement in this country in the first half of the century as related to the current started in Britain by Lord Brougham and his Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. That's quite proper. The speaker makes his bow and says plainly that he is to talk about the institution from its social aspect and is to limit his field to the northeast and to the latter half of the century. He does just that.

The story runs smoothly, is amply supported by references to sources and authorities, develops the theme logically and comprehensively, will undoubtedly serve as a trustworthy guide to the topic.

It may seem captious to ask if "American books were being introduced into the British Museum by Henry Stevens" (page 57) is quite accurate or adequate. Stevens was certainly a vigorous and competent and alert seller and collector of books. Did he, however, start the Museum on the collecting of the output from this country? How about Panizzi's announced intention to make the Museum books in any European language the best outside the homeland of that language? Which came first as to American books, Panizzi or Stevens?

And it may be possible that the trustees of the Tilden Trust intended "to combine all three funds in a single unit and to absorb as many as possible of the other free and subscription libraries of the city into one large municipal system" when they decided to join with the Astor and Lenox libraries (page 149). The "agreement of consolidation" made by the three institutions on the 23rd of May, 1895, sets forth thus the "terms and conditions" for the new corporation: to "establish and maintain a free public library and reading-room in the City of New York, with such branches as may be deemed advisable, and shall continue and promote the several objects and purposes set forth in the respective acts of incorporation" of the three participating institutions. "Establish and maintain a free public library and reading-room in the City of New York, with such branches as may be deemed advisable." Absorption of other libraries may have been intended, but it was not so stated; nor did any of the men that brought about this consolidation ever mention it as an object at that time, so far as I recall.

The "merchant, railroad and steamship director and owner" mentioned on page 147 as William Henry Aspenwall is undoubtedly William Henry Aspinwall of New York City and Panama Isthmus fame. And when Boston reads about "Justin Windsor" on page 73 it will recognize that Winsor of the Boston and Harvard libraries is the man there talked about. Some of the rest of us may be less fortunate.

Those, however, are but trifling slips in a book well worth writing, given us in form and extent worthy of praise and attention from all interested in the American public library movement, its past history, and the part it is to play in the intellectual and social life of the country.

Greensboro, North Carolina H. M. Lydenberg

New York: The World's Capital City; Its Development and Contributions to Progress. By Cleveland Rodgers and Rebecca B. Rankin. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1948. xviii + 398 pages, biblio., index, illus. $5.00.)

The organization of this book is different from any other on the City of New York, and mostly concerned with the fifty-year period of Greater New York, for whose present Golden Anniversary it has been written, and for which it has vital importance as a memorial. It is, however, a chart for those who assemble here from all the world in the tasks of the United Nations of which the City of New York is designed to be the World's Capital. The authors in compiling the work sought "to provide a historic perspective and to focus attention upon many phases of the city's evolution which seem to have a significance hitherto unrecognized especially by New Yorkers," and to point out "the more significant development of Greater New York in their interrelationships," giving these "rather to link the multifarious present with the simple past and in a measure to bring the continuing story of New York up to date." This they have done in forty-three chapters covering nine parts, a list of sources (pp. 373–383), and a one-line index (pp. 385–398) of names, subjects, etc. The book is dedicated to the present mayor of the city, William O'Dwyer.

The work is not done in the orthodox canons of historical writing. It was not "conceived as a history." But for what it pretends to be it is a useful work of reference. The authors state "the main thesis" of it to be to tell how "New York has through self-discipline and collective action maintained order and attained appropriate social stability and general well-being without loss of essential freedoms." Numerous biographical pin sketches of the mayors and other persons who were prominent in the city's affairs are a useful feature, and are handled factually without political rancor, leaving to the reader his own deductions of merit or demerit.

Jamaica, L. I. Victor Hugo Paltsits

September 25: Special program for students of Walton High School, including an illustrated talk, "In the Days of Wigs and Gun Powder," and a gallery tour.

September 28: Meeting of the New York Council of Jewish Women.

October 2: Meeting of the Association of Laboratory Assistants in New York City High Schools.

October 3: First of the winter series of Sunday organ programs with Harold F. Nutzhorn at the console.

October 9: Program for the School Art League: "Adventures With Marionettes."

October 16: High School History Program, illustrated talk, "In the Days of Wigs and Gun Powder," and showing of feature film, "Drums Along the Mohawk."

October 19: Illustrated lecture for members and friends, "Gold Fever," by Joseph G. E. Hopkins, extemporaneous remarks on the Alaskan Klondike by Henry C. Cryder, and opening of the special exhibition, GOLD FEVER.

October 20: Installation of High School Loan exhibition at Peter Stuyvesant High School.

October 23: Program for the School Art League, illustrated talk on Colonial life.

October 27: Meeting of the New York League of Women Voters.

October 30: Program for the School Art League, illustrated talk on "Famous People" by Donald Shelley, and visit to the portrait galleries.

November 6: High School History Program, including an illustrated talk on life in Colonial America, and the feature film, "Drums Along the Mohawk."

November 13: Program for the School Art League, with an illustrated talk on "Gold Fever" by Miss Judith Pless.

November 16: Illustrated lecture for members and friends, "Seen But Not Heard," by John D. Morse, and opening of the special exhibition, UP FROM THE CRADLE.

November 17: Meeting of the New York Library Club.

November 20: High School History Program, illustrated talk on "Gold Fever" by Miss Pless.

November 23: Meeting of the Society of American Historians.

November 30: Installation of High School Loan Exhibition at Benjamin Franklin High School.

December 6: St. Nicholas Day program for members and friends, "American Christmases," a monologue sequence by Cornelia Stabler, followed by refreshments and music in Dexter Hall.

At a meeting of the Board of Trustees on November 24th, Mr. Forsyth Wickes was elected Third Vice-President to succeed Mr. Leonidas Westervelt, resigned, and two new trustees were added: Mr. Frederick B. Adams, Jr., to replace Mr. Wickes; and Mr. Lewis Gouverneur Morris, to succeed Mr. Arthur Sutherland, who died on September 20, 1948. Mr. Irving S. Olds was appointed to the Committee on Nominations in place of Mr. Wickes.

Following many months of negotiation, the Society's Egyptian collection was sold to The Brooklyn Museum, where it has been displayed as a permanent loan since 1937. With the consumation of the negotiations, the Society presented The Brooklyn Museum with the portrait of Henry Abbott, M.D., original owner of the collection, at a dinner at the latter museum, attended by members of the Boards of Trustees of both institutions. Representing The New-York Historical Society were: Dr. Beekman and Messrs. Lockman, Kimball, Olds, Wickes, Wills, Vail, and Wall. This was followed on December 2d by the joint presentation by The Brooklyn Museum and The New-York Historical Society of the Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus, originally forming part of the Egyptian Collection of the Society, to the New York Academy of Medicine with appropriate ceremonies at that institution. On this occasion Dr. Beekman, for the Society, and Mr. Sidney W. Davidson, for the Museum, made addresses of presentation, to which Dr. George Baehr responded on behalf of the Academy.

The Columbia University graduate course, "Resources and Methods of Historical Societies," is again being conducted, during the winter session, at the Society by Mr. Vail. The class began September 29th and meets every Wednesday. Use was also made by City College of the Society facilities and collections on two occasions when classes were given special attention. On November 29th, Mr. Sidney Pomerantz's class in New York History was present when Miss Barck and Mr. Wall spoke on how the Society can be of service to teachers in New York schools. On December 4th, Mr. Pomerantz's class on the History of American Business Enterprise was conducted by Miss Barck, who described the scope of the Society's collections in this field.

The Society was the subject of discussion on the "Dorothy and Dick" radio program over Station WOR on three successive mornings, when, by transcription, Mr. Vail was interviewed on November 22d, Mr. Koke on November 23d, and Mrs. Landauer on November 24th.

Miss Charlotte Stout, Assistant in Education, and Mr. George Takacs, Museum Restorer of the Society, were married on October 2d with a reception to which members of the staff were invited, at the home of the bride's aunt, Miss Mary Dillon. Miss Stout, who resigned, has been succeeded by Miss Judith Pless. Other new members to the staff include: Miss Roberta Leighton, who succeeded Miss Elizabeth Marting, resigned,

as assistant in the Editorial Department; Mr. Walter Mosenthal, Library Assistant; Mr. Wayne Andrews, Curator of Manuscripts, succeeding Mr. Donald Sheehan; Mr. William Wright, Library Assistant in Charge of Newspapers, filling the vacancy caused by the departure of Mr. Thomas Hughes; and Miss Patricia Sasseen, Clerical Assistant in the Library.

Miss Barck spoke before a meeting of the American Association for State and Local History at Raleigh, North Carolina, October 27th on "How Reference Problems are Handled at The New-York Historical Society." The Geography and Map Group of the Special Libraries Association, of which Mr. Carlson is Secretary, held two fall meetings, one on October 22d at Governor's Island and the other on December 7th at the offices of the Associated Press.

An article, written by Mr. Wall, on the colorful history of Castle Garden appeared in the November issue of the *American Collector*. Mr. Wall also spoke before the Historical Society of Erasmus Hall High School in Brooklyn on November 30th.

Among the events in store for members and their friends during the coming months are: an illustrated talk on the China Trade by George Kates, Curator of Oriental Art at the Brooklyn Museum, on January 11th; a lecture on New York Ghostlore by Dr. Louis C. Jones, Director of the New York State Historical Association, on February 1st; and a program on early New York State Indians on March 1st by Mrs. Ethel Brant Monture, descendant of Joseph Brant.

RECENT ACCESSIONS

SIXTEEN-POUND bombshell, Revolutionary War, found on Washington Heights, N. Y. C., *c.* 1880. *Gift of Rev. George W. Arms.*

Nineteen photographs of various forts in the West, 1890–1900, some showing divisions of the United States Army stationed there. *Gift of Colonel Samuel B. Arnold.*

Oil portraits of *Gerardus Beekman* (1653–1723), a copy by Satterlee, *Gerard Beekman* by J. Eichholtz, 1826, *Mrs. Gerard Beekman (Catherine Sanders)* by J. Eichholtz, *Honorable James William Beekman* by Unidentified Artist, *James William Beekman* by William M. Shettle, *Gerard Beekman* by Walter Satterlee, *Mrs. James Beekman, Sr. (Abian S. Beekman)* by Unidentified Artist, *Unidentified Man* by Unidentified Artist, *Unidentified Woman* by Unidentified Artist, *Cornelia A. Beekman and James William Beekman*, in Rome, Italy, by A. R., 1856; pastel portrait of *Cornelia Beekman* by J. Wells Champney, 1896; silhouette of *Philip M. Beekman* by A. Edouart; oil painting of *Seascape with Schooner* by Thomas Birch; oil painting of a *Landscape* by Unidentified Artist; oil

painting on panel of an *Old Man Reading* by Unidentified Artist; watercolor painting of *Mirth II*, owned by J. and J. Wm. Beekman, by Unidentified Artist; six Chippendale ladder-back side chairs; two dining-room tables; chest of drawers with desk; two Windsor-type chairs used by the Beekman family; sundial dated 1763 from the Beekman Mansion, First Avenue and 51st Street; settle made from timber from the Beekman Mansion with fireback and tiles from the house when it was torn down in 1874; barometer made by Benjamin Pike and Son, New York opticians, 1845–49; collection of manuscripts and papers of the Beekman family and of Reverend Philip Milledoler (1775–1852), which will be described in detail in the April *Quarterly;* 703 volumes and pamphlets, including several early Dutch books; 84 prints; 26 photographs and 5 albums of photographs; 9 maps. *Gift of the Beekman Family Association.*

Two daguerreotypes of a miniature of John Beekman (1768–1843) and 2 of a miniature of Mrs. John Beekman (Mary Elizabeth Good Bedlow) (1771–1848), great-grandparents of Dr. Beekman. *Gift of Dr. Fenwick Beekman.*

Oil portrait of *Thomas Appleford* by John Wollaston, 1746. *Gift of a Friend of the Society.*

Early 19th-century ship's sternboard; 19th-century drawer pulls; paper weights with medallion portraits of Abraham Lincoln and Henry Clay; insurance policy of the Howard Insurance Company of New York, 1838; 2 broadside advertisements, 1860, 1871; 4 pieces of engraved fractional United States currency, 1863–74. *Gift of Mrs. J. Insley Blair.*

Original Indian deed to Jeames Coke of Oyster Bay for land then in Oyster Bay, now in Tinnecock section of Locust Valley, Long Island, dated at Oyster Baye, this 29th day of May, 1669, and signed by the marks of seven Indians. *Gift of Miss Dorothy Cocks.*

Zouave and dress uniforms worn by donor's father in the Fifth New York Volunteer Infantry ("Duryee's Zouaves") during the Civil War, 1861–63, with rifle and musket. *Gift of Mr. Walter F. Davis.*

Notes on de la Felde in Ireland collected by donor in 1912; 2 typewritten genealogies of the Hallett family; typewritten index of a Poll of Arms registered by the Committee of Heraldry of the New England Historic Genealogical Society; *Your Family Tree* by David Starr Jordan and Sarah Louise Kimball, 1922, annotated by the donor; Manual of the Congregational Church, Darien, Connecticut, 1871, and program for its 150th anniversary in 1894. *Gift of Brigadier General John Ross Delafield.*

A Manual of Coaching by Fairman Rogers, Philadelphia, 1900. *Gift of Colonel Paul H. Downing.*

Eighteenth-century pill-rolling machine. *Gift of Mr. Henry F. du Pont.*

Oil portrait of *Silas B. Dutcher* (1829–1909), President of the Hamilton Trust Co. (Brooklyn) and member of numerous charitable organizations,

by J. H. Will. *Gift of the Estate of Malcolm B. Dutcher, son of the subject.*

A Topographical Description of North America by Thomas Pownall, London, 1776, with accompanying map. *Gift of Mr. Stuyvesant Fish.*

Considerations towards a General Plan of Measures for the English Provinces by Thomas Pownall, New York Printed, Edinburgh Reprinted, 1756. *Gift of Mr. Stuyvesant Fish and Mr. Thomas W. Streeter.*

Twenty-two John Rogers Groups in plaster. *Gift of Mrs. Francis P. Garvan.*

Oil portrait of *Charles Lewis Tiffany*, founder of Tiffany and Co. at 26 years of age, by William Henry Powell, 1840. *Gift of Mrs. Comfort Tiffany Gilder.*

Watercolor *Landscape (in the Style of Corot)* by Joseph Jefferson. *Gift of Mr. Rodman Gilder.*

History of the Municipalities of Hudson County, New Jersey, New York, 1924, in 3 volumes; *History of Essex and Hudson Counties, New Jersey*, Philadelphia, 1884, in 2 volumes; 7 volumes of *Moody's Investment Manuals, 1941–1942;* 2 volumes of *Poor's Financial Records, 1941;* 50 volumes relating principally to railroads and steamships; 8 photostatic copies of maps relating to railroads; photograph showing the Flatbush Avenue Station of the Long Island Railroad under construction. *Gift of Mr. Norvin H. Green.*

Civil War canteen and cartridge box used by the donor's father, 1862–63. *Gift of Mr. Clarence F. Haynes.*

Collection of Civil War material: 15 letters and 8 pamphlets concerning the work of the Woman's Central Association of Relief, New York City, 1864–65, and 2 photographs of their workrooms; 115 letters and 19 pamphlets concerning the United States Sanitary Commission. *Gift of Miss S. Madeline Hodge.*

Oil paintings by James Bard of the *Jesse Hoyt*, the *Baltic*, the *Moses Taylor*, (1889), and the *Thomas E. Hulse;* oil painting of *Four Classes of Boats Christened "New York"* by Fred Pansing; model, seal, and coat- and baggage-room checks of the *Mary Powell*, famous Hudson River excursion steamer; 79 account books, ledgers and letter books of the Day Line and its predecessors, 1833–1919; 3 account books of Abram Van Santvoord, 1833–1847, and 4 of Commodore Alfred Van Santvoord, 1852–1901; visitors' register, 1909; 15 volumes of *Hudson River by Daylight*, a weekly publication of the Day Line during the summer season, 1890–1905; 3 Bibles from different steamers of the Line; collection of 79 timetables, leaflets, and handbills; 27 drawings, 8 lithographs, 3 posters, 12 car cards; 36 certificates of steamboat inspection, 1876–1917; 13 photographs of steamboats and piers; 75 photographs of the reproduction of Fulton's *Clermont* for the Hudson-Fulton celebration. *Gift of the Hudson River Day Line, Mr. A. V. S. Olcott, President.*

Photographs of 2 presidents of Harvard University: Charles W. Eliot,

president from 1869 to 1909, and A. Lawrence Lowell, president from 1909 to 1933; 6 engravings and 1 lithograph relating to the history of France and the United States. *Gift of Mr. James Hazen Hyde.*

Nineteenth-century apple parer; numerous additions to the Landauer Collection. *Gift of Mrs. Bella C. Landauer.*

Four large volumes containing a varied iconographic record of George Washington including engraved and lithographed portraits, stamps, programs, advertisements, and other Washingtoniana; Henry T. Tuckerman's *The Character and Portraits of Washington*, New York, 1859, with letters and engravings inserted; *Americana Iconographie*, a large volume containing engraved portraits, lithographs, broadsides, silk badges, caricatures and other memorabilia relating to George Washington and other figures prominent in American History. *Gift of Mr. James D. Landauer.*

Papers of Lieutenant Colonel George W. Jones, grandfather of the donor, concerning his Civil War service. *Gift of Mrs. Clinton J. Miller.*

Three letters from Abraham Vanderbeck to his wife, Prudence Hadden Vanderbeck, dated on the ship *Mechanics Own*, New York, August 11, 1849; on ship board at St. Catherines, Brazil, October 20, 1849, and at San Francisco, June 30, 1850; lithograph picturing the execution in San Francisco on June 10, 1851, of John Jenkins; "The Miner's Ten Commandments," a broadside with illustrations published by James Hutchings, California, 1853. *Gift of Miss Katherine Virginia Newsome.*

Oil portraits of: *David Garrick* by Robert Edge Pine; *Silas Wright*, Governor of New York State, by Unidentified Artist; *William Beach Lawrence* by Unidentified Artist. *Lent by The New York Public Library.*

Three volumes of the minutes of the meetings of the Board of Managers of the Home for Old Men and Aged Couples, New York City, 1898–1935; engrossed memorial resolution on the death of John Christopher O'Conor, 1933; 45 photographs, 2 daguerreotypes, and a pencil drawing of relatives of the donor. *Gift of Mr. Norreys Jephson O'Conor.*

Seven account books of his great-grandfather, Absalom Townsend (died 1861) of Albany, relating to his law business, sale of lots in Buffalo, and the settlement of his estate; 18 letter books of Eben E. Olcott (his father), a mining engineer, 1879–99; 2 letter books and 3 account books of mining companies; 15 account books of the successive partnerships of Olcott, Fearne & Peele; Olcott, Corning & Peele; and Olcott & Corning, 1896–1918. *Gift of Mr. Alfred Van Santvoord Olcott.*

Pastel of *Harriet Warner* of Woodbury, Conn., by G. Schipper, 1806. *Gift of Mr. Irving S. Olds.*

Two early New York fire helmets, 1824–28, and *c.* 1851. *Gift of Commander Robert S. Raymond.*

Volume containing 31 Civil War letters of John Law Marshall, private, Company G, 123rd Regiment of Infantry, New York State Volunteers. *Gift of Mr. James Archer Robinson.*

Diary of Mrs. Andrew Lester, grandmother of the donors, 1847–49,

in 2 volumes; diary of Andrew Lester (1813–1889), paternal grandfather of the donors, 1836–88, in 14 volumes; autograph album of Mary Lester (?) Harris (?), Griswold, Connecticut, and New York, 1837–47; 12 letters and cards to Andrew Lester; 7 volumes and 9 broadsides. *Gift of Mrs. Warner Seely and Mrs. Edward Beck (in memory of their father, William Christie Lester).*

Collection of works relating to bookplates: 75 volumes, 43 pamphlets, 52 periodicals and 4 volumes of periodicals; 345 American and foreign Christmas and New Year cards and 21 other greeting cards. *Gift of Mr. Oliver C. Sheean.*

Oil portrait of *Hu Shih* by Albert Smith, 1946. The subject is president of the University of Peiping. *Gift of Mr. Albert D. Smith, the artist.*

The Thomas H. Franklin collection of 908 glass negatives of American steamboats in service on the Atlantic coast, Maine to Florida, taken about 1910. *Gift of the Steamship Historical Society of America.*

Art Work on Southern California, San Francisco, 1900, in 12 parts, as issued; see also his gift with Mr. Stuyvesant Fish, above. *Gift of Mr. Thomas W. Streeter.*

Three hundred and seventy-five issues of various New York City and New York State newspapers, 1822–88. *Gift of Mr. Daniel Downing Thompson.*

Early 19th-century stoneware jar found while excavating for the Brooklyn-Battery Tunnel in Battery Park, 1948. *Gift of Mr. Irving Troemel.*

Twenty-four notebooks and 7 essays written by the donor as a student at Grammar School No. 83, New York City, and College of the City of New York; collection of programs, menus, etc. for reunions of the class of 1895 of the College. *Gift of Mr. Alfred Weil.*

Collection of mid-19th-century carpenters' tools. *Gift of Mrs. Charles Wolfe.*

Letter from George Washington to Major Benjamin Tallmadge, dated 18 January, 1779, relating to Samuel Culper [Woodhull], the spy; 22 volumes of history, biography, and poetry. *Gift of Mr. George A. Zabriskie.*

Oil portrait of *John Christian Zimmermann, Jr.*, father of the donor, by Charles L. Elliott. *Gift of Miss Agnes Zimmermann.*

CONDITIONS OF MEMBERSHIP

MEMBERS, on their election, pay ten dollars as dues, and thereafter on the first day of January each year a like amount, or a life-membership fee of one hundred dollars in lieu of all other dues and fees. The contribution of one thousand dollars to the funds of the Society entitles the donor to be elected a Fellow for life. The contribution of five thousand dollars entitles the donor to be elected a Patron of the Society in perpetuity.

Members have the privilege of attending and of inviting guests to all the lectures and other functions of the Society, and they will receive *The New-York Historical Society Quarterly* and its *Annual Report.*

Application for membership may be made on the following detachable form (or on a separate printed form which will be provided on request) and submitted to: Secretary, The New-York Historical Society, 170 Central Park West, New York 24, New York.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP

I herewith present my application for membership in the Society:

Name .....

Address .....

.....

Business or profession .....

Enclosed is my check to be used in payment of membership fee as indicated below, when I am elected:

..... Annual $10 ..... Fellow $1000

..... Life $100 ..... Patron $5000

I have the pleasure of referring to the following members of the Society with whom I am acquainted:

.....

.....

.....

[If you wish to state any special historical interests that you may have, please do so.]

Date .....

FORM OF BEQUEST

I give and bequeath to "THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY," *founded in the year 1804 and incorporated in the year 1809, the sum of* .....*Dollars.*

THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY, CENTRAL PARK WEST & 77TH STREET

FOUNDED 1804

HOURS

THE LIBRARY

Open daily except Sundays: 10 A.M. to 5 P.M.
Holidays: 1 to 5 P.M.

THE ART GALLERIES AND MUSEUM

Open free to the public daily except Mondays,
from 1 to 5 P.M.
Saturdays: 10 A.M. to 5 P.M.

The building is closed on New Year's Day, July 4th, Thanksgiving, and Christmas, and during the month of August.